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Senate Can Block LBJ Canal Surrender

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

President Lyndon B. Johnson has announced an astounding surrender by him of American rights to the U.S.-built and U.S.-owned Panama Canal, and has indicated plans to build a needed new canal in Panama with only limited U.S. control.

The surrender of American interest in the canal is unjustified and foolish, dangerous to American security. It should be rejected completely by the U.S. Senate, which has the constitutional authority to approve or disapprove treaties.

Even if the Senate takes the proper action, Mr. Johnson will have done a great disservice to the United States and will have provoked more animosity over the canal by suggesting a U.S. surrender that never should be. But if the surrender is carried out because of Mr. Johnson's whip hand over the Senate, he should go down in history as perpetrator of one of the most serious retreats in American annals.

The United States built the Panama Canal and has control of the zone through which it runs by virtue of a treaty of 1903 with Panama. For the treaty rights, our country paid Panama $10 million at the time the treaty was made, plus $250,000 annually, a figure later increased to $1.93 million. In addition, Panama benefits from the treaty because the canal and related enterprises provide jobs for Panamanians, plus trade and tourist spending. In fact, the American canal is Panama's chief source of income.

Write your senators urging them to oppose abandonment of the strategic Panama Canal Zone, in which the United States has already invested $2 billion.

The treaty now in force provides for American control of the Canal Zone "to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority." And the term of the contract was stated as "in perpetuity."

There is no reason for Mr. Johnson to surrender those rights. There have been nationalist and Communist demonstrations and incidents created over American control over the canal. But these should not force us to give up. In fact, surrender to that kind of blackmail will invite more all over the world.

Rather, we should tell Panama that if the Panamanians don't like the terms of the present treaty, we will seek a site outside Panama—and several are available—for construction of the new canal that the United States is planning to overcome the smallness and other disadvantages of the present waterway.

If Panama does not want to continue to have our chief canal, that will be solved by picking a new location. If, however, Panama does want a continued canal relationship with the United States, then a treaty for a new site might be worked out—with U.S. control similar to that in the present treaty.

Yes, there might be grounds for financial arrangements more pleasing to Panama—although the canal is no great moneymaker. There are various concessions we might properly make—but none ought to compromise our sole control of the canal.

It is highly significant and revealing that a Democratic congresswoman who is chairman of a House subcommittee on Panama Canal affairs, Rep. Leonor K. Sullivan of Missouri, has called Mr. Johnson's preliminary agreement "one of the most foolish, unnecessary and saddest things which could be done. I don't want to add fuel to the fire of controversy long surrounding our relations with Panama, but the benefits of such an arrangement will serve only to give prestige to the government in power, and profits to the privileged families which run Panama."

The proper course is to demand the U.S. Senate reject any treaty modifications along the lines Mr. Johnson has proposed. And even then, much damage will have been done.

CHRISTMAS IN OCTOBER?

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See page 16 for our Special Pre-Christmas Message.

Reds Want Us to Give Up Canal

By REP. DANIEL FLOOD (D.-Pa.)

The grant of complete jurisdiction of Panama over the Canal Zone means that all laws made by the Congress for the government of the zone and the operation and maintenance of the canal may be scrapped at any time by Panama, and superseded by Panamanian law. Also, all civil activities in the zone—courts, police and fire, schools, roads and utilities—will be taken over by Panama.

All this means, sooner or later, the elimination of U.S. citizen employes in the canal enterprise with substitutions by Panamanians. It will be inevitable that all these positions will become political plums eagerly sought by Panamanian politicians with gross confusion and embarrassment. Yet our negotiators were unable, or unwilling, to deal with the situation realistically and have agreed to leave our government with responsibility without any adequate authority. Think what this means in time of war or other grave emergency.

Even as to the matter of land in the zone, which may be required for canal purposes, we should have to buy back at exorbitant prices areas we already own by actual purchases from the owners. What a ridiculous situation.

Panama, having secured such outstanding results in its claims, will inevitably demand all control over the canal enterprise with withdrawal by the United States. If such abandonment occurs, Panama and all of Latin America will go down the Communist drain.

For our officials to proclaim that Panama, which since 1955 has not been able to collect its own garbage from the streets of Panama City and Colon, as a partner of this great interoceanic public utility is, to say the least, unrealistic and really astounding; and it will evoke serious reactions from maritime countries as regards the fixing of tolls.

The President's announcement, indeed, marks a sad day for the United States, although it may bring rejoicing at Peking and Moscow. He has completely yielded to the counsel of his advisers, sappers and appeasers, who must be made to bear basic responsibility for what has occurred. Moreover, I predict that the expressed willingness to surrender control over the Panama Canal will be taken as a signal for accelerated activity among Communistic revolutionary elements all over Latin America and the Caribbean.

There should be only one flag over the Panama Canal—the flag of the United States—and the proposed treaties should be defeated.

For more about the Panama Canal see page 2.

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Abandonment of Panama Canal Would Solve No Problem

By DONALD MARQUAND DOZER, *Professor of History*, University of California at Santa Barbara

In a sensational betrayal of United States interests President Lyndon Johnson announced on September 24 his decision to surrender to Panama sovereignty over the Canal Zone and to allow Panama to share with the United States "responsibility in the administration, management and operations of the canal." The United States is thus yielding to Panama's Communist-inspired, anti-Yankee demonstrations and is abandoning its treaty rights in this vital international waterway.

We in the United States ought to feel a thrilling sense of pride in the Panama Canal. It was conceived by United States vision, was built by United States money and is operated by a United States company, the Panama Canal Company, in which the secretary of the Army is the sole stockholder.

The Panama Canal is a national enterprise of the United States. It is a lifeline of national defense. It is a main channel of ocean commerce and one of the greatest transportation facilities in the world. The prime function of the canal is the safe and expeditious transport of vessels from one ocean to the other. Of all the vessels that went through the canal in 1962, over 60 per cent were United States vessels.

The American people should nurse no sense of guilt about the canal. Panama emerged as an independent nation in 1903 only because of the United States interest in the construction of an isthmian canal.

The fact that the canal was constructed through Panama rather than through Nicaragua was due to the inducements which Panama offered in order to get the canal in her territory. As one of these inducements she agreed in the treaty of 1903 to give to the United States "in perpetuity" a zone of land ten miles wide running through Panama from sea to sea and "all the rights, power and authority within the zone . . . which the United States would possess and exercise within the zone if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority."

Among these sovereign rights was the right to fly the flag of the United States over the zone "to the entire exclusion of the exercise" of such a right by Panama.

For all these rights the United States paid $10 million immediately and began nine years later to pay $250,000 annually to Panama. Subsequently we purchased all the lands in the zone from their private owners, spending almost $35 million for that purpose. We have paid more for the Canal Zone, both initially and subsequently, than for any other territory that we have ever acquired—the Louisiana Purchase, Florida, the Mexican Cession, the Gadsden Purchase, Alaska—in fact more than double what we paid for all those territorial acquisitions combined.

The total investment of the United States in the canal and the Canal Zone amounts to more than $2 billion. This investment the Johnson Administration is now giving away.

From the canal Panama's economy has derived enormous tangible benefits. In 1963 it received directly from United States agencies in the zone $92 million in salaries, retirement and disability payments, and purchases of goods and services besides many indirect benefits. As a result of the presence of the United States in the Canal Zone, Panama enjoys the highest per capita income in Latin America.

Beginning in the "Good Neighbor" era of the 1930s the United States has yielded concession after concession to Panama. By new treaties in 1936 and 1955 it abandoned its treaty right to maintain public order and to supervise sanitation in the terminal cities of Panama and Colon with the result that these cities have become beachheads of violence against the canal and cesspools of infection. The United States has given to Panama, without consideration, the terminal yards and passenger stations of the Panama Railroad in Panama City and Colon.

After the Communist-led rioting against the United States in the zone in 1959, a high State Department official on a visit to Panama recognized that "titular sovereignty over the Canal Zone remains in the government of Panama." Soon afterward President Eisenhower by executive order gave Panama the sovereign right to fly her flag in the zone.

Other concessions which United States policy-makers have made to Panama, often under pressure from riots and other demonstrations, include abandonment of the zone commissaries, the increase in the annuity to $1,930,000, the construction of the $20-million Thatcher Bridge across the canal for the special use of Panama and the release of real estate in Panama City and Colon with a market value of $40 million.

REP. WILLIAM HARSHA (R.-Ohio): "The U.S. government has completely capitulated to the demands of Panama concerning the canal and we have come home from the so-called negotiations like a whipped pup with its tail between its legs. The country of Panama owes its entire existence to the United States and we have continually given friendship and economic support to it. . . . This nation has paid Panama the full indemnity and annuities agreed upon by the two nations, has completely carried out the terms of the treaty and stands on firm moral and legal footing in this dispute, and under no circumstances should it have conceded to the Communist-inspired demands of Panama. How do we expect other nations to have any respect for the United States when we do not even have enough self-respect to stand firm when we are on solid, legal and moral footing?"

But with each concession we have been confronted with new demands from Panama, including a demand for one-half the gross revenue from the canal and ultimately surrender of the canal and the zone to Panama.

After further bloody Communist-led rioting occurred in the zone in 1954, President Johnson agreed to negotiate a new treaty with Panama. At the same time he announced that the United States is prepared to scrap the present lock canal in favor of a new sea-level canal, which may be constructed elsewhere in Panama or in Nicaragua or in northwestern Colombia.

The pretext given for this announcement is that the present canal is becoming obsolete and will not be able to provide adequate accommodation for world commerce by the year 2000, possibly even by 1985.

But is a second canal constructed at sea level the only logical answer to this problem? A second canal, wherever located, will require the negotiation of a new treaty, possibly more than one, under extremely adverse negotiating conditions.

Such a treaty or treaties can be expected to involve huge indemnities by the United States to the other country, larger annuity payments by the United States than are now going to Panama, a limitation of the duration of United States control over the canal, and recognition of full sovereignty over the canal by the other signatory, making the canal built at United States expense a hostage to that country from the very outset. And at present the United States is prevented from carrying out the excavation of a new canal with atomic power by the terms of the nuclear test-ban treaty drafted by it, the Soviet Union, and Britain in 1963 and signed by more than 100 nations.

Of the routes proposed for a new canal, the Nicaragua-Costa Rica route, besides requiring the negotiation of treaties with two and possibly three Central American countries, is almost three times as long as the present Panama Canal. A survey of this route made under the auspices of a congressional committee in 1960 reported the cost of a Nicaraguan lock-canal at over $4 billion and a Nicaraguan sea-level canal completely impracticable.

The Atrato-Truando route in northwestern Colombia traverses perhaps the densest, most fetid jungle area in the Western Hemisphere and even for a high lock-canal would require the excavation of a vast gash in the formidable cordillera. A sea-level canal here would be unthinkable.

If another canal route in Panama is chosen—perhaps the San Blas Gulf route or the Caledonia Bay route—we can expect Panama to give us much less advantageous terms than in 1903. Then we were the wooed; now we are the suitor.

But have the possibilities of modernizing and enlarging the present Panama Canal been adequately considered? For this canal and all improvements in it within the present zone a full treaty basis exists or at least existed until President Johnson's announcement of September 24.

Many intelligent plans designed to modernize the present canal at minimal cost have been drawn up. The most feasible plan for enlarging the capacity of the canal within the present treaty arrangements provides for the continued maintenance of the lock principle. It would widen the single locks at the Caribbean end of the canal and the channel through the Culebra cut, would consolidate the dual system of locks at the Pacific end of the canal into a single set of locks, thus eliminating the awkward Pedro Miguel locks, and would provide an artificial terminal lake at the Pacific side of the isthmus comparable to the Gatun Lake at the Caribbean side.

This plan would speed up transit through the canal, would simplify maintenance, and would enlarge the service at much lower cost than under any of the alternative plans.

President Johnson's surrender of sovereignty over the present canal serves the Soviet objective of gaining control over the strategic waterways of the world, thus threatening the life lines of the free nations, as illustrated, for example, in the experience of the Suez Canal, the Danube, the Dardanelles and the straits of Southeast Asia. Panama's attacks on the canal have significantly coincided with the challenges that Fidel Castro has hurled at the position of the United States in Guantanamo, guarding the eastward approach to the Panama Canal.

Issues of global importance are involved in the Panama conflict. It behooves the United States to understand these issues in their broadest and most sinister context and to take appropriate action.

Theodore Roosevelt proudly declared in 1910, speaking of the Panama Canal: "It is our canal; we built it; we fortified it, and we will protect it, and we will not permit our enemies to use it in war. In time of peace, all nations shall use it alike, but in time of war our interest at once becomes dominant." We are living now in such a time, and our own national interest in the Panama Canal should be the dominant consideration.

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Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

VISTA Poverty Program Still Lags

From the Rockford (Ill.) *Register-Republic*

In at least one area, the Administration's highly touted "War on Poverty" has been little more than a minor skirmish.

The nation's domestic peace corps program had cost the taxpayers some $3.1 million at the conclusion of the fiscal year on June 30, and its accomplishments were too few to be assessed.

On June 30, trained volunteers, in the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), as the program is called, numbered 202. At the same time, the Office of Economic Opportunity listed 120 employes in its domestic peace corps division, or more than one employe in Washington for every two volunteers in the field.

When the OEO got its first appropriation last October, Sargent Shriver, the "War on Poverty" boss, predicted that there would be 5,000 VISTA volunteers by the end of the fiscal year.

And on June 30, when the domestic peace corps could boast only 202 trained volunteers, Shriver forecast that there would be at least 2,200 trained volunteers by the end of this calendar year.

In July, Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R.-N.J.), chairman of a group of House Republicans investigating the "War on Poverty," asked Shriver to explain the disparity between predictions and expenses and net results of the VISTA program.

"There is no indication," Shriver answered, "that the program is suffering from serious delays or other problems."

Congress is due to take up in the near future the OEO's request for an inflated budget of $24.5 million for the domestic peace corps in the current fiscal year.

If Poverty War Chief Shriver's views that the program is suffering no delays or problems is to be taken at face value, there should be a reassessment of the performance timetable.

Promises and predictions have fallen far short of actual results.

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TELEPHONE THREATS – Sen. Karl Mundt has introduced legislation providing severe penalties for individuals who harass or threaten the families of U.S. servicemen. Mundt said there have been "mounting reports" of anonymous telephone calls being made to widows and parents of servicemen killed in Viet Nam and to relatives of men serving in Southeast Asia. Sens. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.) and Milward Simpson (R.-Wyo.) have introduced similar legislation, blaming the calls on the Communist party.

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IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT—The editorial section of the New York *Times* recently ran the following correction, which we reprint here in its entirety: "In this section on August 15 it was stated—incorrectly—that 'rioting' by 'a mob' broke out in Springfield, Mass., shortly after the massive outbreak in Los Angeles and the smaller one in Chicago. The statements were based on a misleading news agency dispatch. The incidents concerned were a Negro protest demonstration and the burning of two stores." That ought to straighten out the confusion to the satisfaction of everybody concerned, with the possible exception of a couple of sore-head store owners.—From the Dallas *Morning News*

Is This Red China's Year To Get Admitted to the U.N.?

From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

The sentiment of the American people always has been firmly against U.S. recognition of Red China or its admission to the United Nations. Every opinion poll, the mail received by members of Congress and by newspapers establish this particular "consensus" beyond a reasonable doubt.

Even the far-out liberals and leftists were silenced on this point during the Korean War when Communist Chinese were killing American troops. A saying popular then was that "Red China shall not be allowed to shoot her way into the United Nations." Another was that "the Chinese Reds cannot come in with blood on their hands."

Will Ambassador Arthur Goldberg stand firm?

In the 15 years since, Red China has kept Asia in bloody turmoil, actively assisting revolts in Malaysia and Viet Nam, conquering Tibet by force. In 1962, Red China invaded India. It is threatening invasion now, and is furiously fomenting the fighting between Pakistan and India which the United Nations and most of the world's governments are trying to stop.

So, nothing has changed except that Red China's hands are bloodier than ever, and she has a crude atomic weapon which strengthens her propaganda arsenal if not her actual military power.

Nevertheless, the clamor to admit Red China to the United Nations is louder than ever among the "non-aligned" and the "uncommitted," who, by curious circumstance, seem to like almost everything the United States opposes in world affairs.

Admittedly, the United Nations isn't much, and is very little indeed as compared to the hopes held for it 20 years ago. Even its best friends confess that its function is more talk than action, that the last General Assembly meeting was a travesty, that the meeting which opened the week of September 20th was made possible by the American about-face on peace-keeping assessments.

The United Nations is $108 million in debt, and no one is in much doubt about which of the world's nations is expected to pick up most of the deficit. It is the United States, as always.

In the present fight between India and Pakistan, the U.N.'s efforts to achieve a cease-fire have been unavailing, and what the organization's secretary general could not do its 114-nation debating society is even less likely to accomplish.

But the United Nations could very easily become a flaming issue among the American people if ill-advised liberals in this country try to press for the admission of Red China.

We are pleased to note that liberals are far from united on this issue. Senators who are liberal on domestic controversies, such as Dodd of Connecticut and Douglas of Illinois, are firmly opposed to giving any kind of recognition to the Communist Chinese. Moderates and conservatives are solidly in opposition. And President Johnson, who knows a consensus when he sees one, also happens to be on record in the strongest possible terms.

Therefore, we sincerely hope that when the issue of admitting Red China is raised, as it very likely will be, Ambassador Goldberg will not equivocate, but will make it plain, as have other American spokesmen, that if Red China goes into the United Nations, America will go out.

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WALTER ULBRICHT, the old Communist party-liner who was installed by the Soviet government in "its" part of Germany in 1945, has just returned from his recent visit to Cairo. Asked what impressed him most, he answers: "The Pyramids. Just think how many walls you could build with all those stones."—From the *Bulletin* of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• At the recent Republican State Central Committee meeting in California, the man who received the most attention at the conclave was actor Ronald Reagan, now the front-runner for the GOP gubernatorial nomination. Reagan, according to unbiased observers, electrified the Republicans who pushed through resolutions favorable to his candidacy. Nevertheless, Reagan is expected to meet sharp opposition in a Republican primary from conservative Joseph Shell. Shell, who lost the gubernatorial nomination to Richard Nixon in 1962, still has potent backing in the state.

REAGAN

• *There was a lot of weeping and gnashing of teeth by liberals in Washington last week when Republicans and Democrats in the House teamed up to roundly defeat the Administration's "Home Rule" bill for the District of Columbia. Many District residents felt the measure had been designed to give control of the city to the Americans for Democratic Action and add liberal Democrats to Congress. Petulant Joseph L. Rauh, the ADA bigwig who so desperately wants to control the district if home rule comes, cried out in anguish: "We've been working on this some 20 years. We won't stop now." The proof, however, that Rauh and Co. only care about controlling the city and not genuine home rule is the fact that they opposed the plan adopted by the House—a bill which would actually allow District citizens to vote if they desired home rule and, if so, to choose the people they wanted to draw up a home rule charter.*

• LBJ's decision to relinquish sovereignty over the Panama Canal is a "terrible mistake" that will undermine this nation's position throughout Latin America, Gen. Robert E. Wood, one of the few surviving builders of the canal, said last week. The move may jeopardize national defense by placing a vital transportation link under the control of another government, Gen. Wood continued (see pages 1 and 2).

WOOD

• *President Johnson's egomania is growing, not lessening, say those who know him. In giving private interviews to reporters, his most consistent phrase is "I, I, I." A number of Johnson political friends have recently received small presents from the President's. The items: an autographed picture of LBJ.*

• A project for YAF members and other conservatives? Rep. William Harsha (R.-Ohio) has called upon the Department of Commerce to rescind the license granted to Litwin Engineering Co. of Wichita, Kan., to export Standard Oil of Ohio's patented textile process, Acrylonitrile, to the Communists in East Germany. "The acquisition of this process," says Harsha, "provides a technical advantage to East German Communists . . . anything that improves a nation's economy has a direct bearing on its military capability."

HARSHA

• *Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) last week boycotted a Senate luncheon for Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Those in attendance included Majority Leader Mansfield, Minority Leader Dirksen, Senate President Pro-Tempore Hayden and Armed Services Chairman Russell. Sixty-four senators in all attended the Capitol luncheon and heard Madame Chiang warn that "nowhere does freedom come cheaply."*

This Week in Washington

The Dominican Reversal

Latin American diplomats in Washington are saying there is a determined effort by key Administration personnel to restore to power in the Dominican Republic the discredited pro-Communist, Juan Bosch, folk hero of the extreme left-wing elements which initiated the Dominican rebellion last April. This, in spite of the fact that the former Dominican President last week stirred up vicious anti-United States sentiment upon his return to Santo Domingo. (Speaking in Santo Domingo before a crowd chanting anti-American slogans, Bosch called upon the United States to pay his country $1 billion for intervening in the rebellion and told his followers to kick the American armed forces out, using massive strikes, if necessary, to accomplish this.)

MONSTER EGG RUSSELL

The way for a Bosch and/or extreme leftist take-over, say Latins, is presently being paved by American-imposed provisional president Hector Garcia-Godoy, who is saturating his administration with pro-Bosch appointees. Godoy's ambassador to the United States, Milton Messina, held a post under Bosch and declared for Bosch and the pro-Communist rebels who revolted in April.

Jules Dubois, Latin American correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune,* quotes a former admiral of the Dominican Republic in a unique position to document the political affiliation of those being appointed to key posts by Garcia-Godoy:

"The situation today is that, to please the Communists and the OAS, Garcia-Godoy is giving post after post in his provisional government to the Communists. It will soon reach a point like that in a corporation stock fight and the Communists will acquire 51 per cent of the shares by osmosis.

"The Communists are taking positions so fast that when the United States intelligence community opens its startled eyes and takes a real hard look at my country, it will realize that the Communists are already in a majority control of the government positions."

The burning question on the lips of foreign policy experts in Washington remains: Who sabotaged LBJ's original, tough policy of sending in the Marines to prevent a Red take-over—and why?

• Ironically, the forces in the United States and abroad who hope for Bosch's resurrection continue to paint him as a champion against dictators and military rule. Few realize, however, that when Trujillo was assassinated four years ago, Bosch actually wanted Trujillo's son, Gen. Rafael Trujillo, to replace the slain dictator. This is documented in *Latin America—Myth and Reality* by Peter Nehemkis, who was appointed by the Organization of American States to supervise the 1962 elections in the Dominican Republic which saw Bosch come to power. In spite of his present pro-Communist sympathies, Bosch not only admired Trujillo's son, but wrote a gushing letter to Trujillo at the very time Latin liberals were beginning to denounce him as a military dictator. This letter, translated by Latins in the United States, is dated Jan. 9, 1936, shortly after Trujillo had changed the name of the capital of the Dominican Republic from Santo Domingo to Ciudad Trujillo.

A copy of the letter, circulated in Santo Domingo and never repudiated by Bosch, is addressed to "Honorable President of the Republic and Benefactor of the Fatherland." It continues: "I wish to express to you the profound gratitude which I owe you for your kindness in designating me Chief of the Census Section in the Office of National Statistics.

"I take this opportunity to send my warm congratulations on the occasion of your illustrious name having been given to Santo Domingo de Guzman. . . it is the city which has been honored. . . .With the hope of continuing to deserve your trust and of duly fulfilling my duties to you and your government, I respectfully greet you, your unconditional servant, Juan Bosch."

• *Ignoring liberal advice, GOP National Chairman Ray Bliss is telling Republicans to look southward for votes. Reporting on GOP gains in the South to the Southern Republican State Chairman's Association, Bliss stated: I believe the Republican strength in the South, as clearly demonstrated in the 1964 elections and as is evident today, is a positive—not negative—force."*

LBJ's Political Arm

The chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, John Rhodes (R.-Ariz.), has issued a stinging rebuke to John Macy, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, for his blatant entry into politics and has accused both Macy and President Johnson of possible participation in illegal practices.

Rhodes charged that the supposedly non-partisan Macy had on two occasions tried to pressure him into voting with the President.

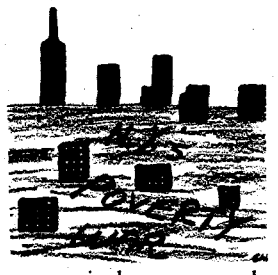
Macy, the congressman charged, had called him "on a Sunday at Ocean City, Md., recently to try to get my vote against overriding a presidential veto of the military construction bill. Most recently, he called me in Arizona on a Saturday to seek my support for home rule legislation for the District of Columbia. At the same time, Mr. Macy has been telling Congress how important it is that we emphasize civil service procedures, how necessary it is that we put more non-political civil service personnel in key government jobs, and how vital it is to keep politics out of these activities."

Macy's actions as "errand boy for the President's congressional conformity corps" casts some doubt on his sincerity in keeping civil service out of politics, said Rhodes. And it reflects upon his "fitness to testify on the non-political nature of the agency which he heads and which is supposedly charged with the responsibilities of keeping federal employment above politics—in effect, being the custodian of the Hatch Act."

Futhermore, said Rhodes, Macy's calls to him and presumably to other members of Congress "were paid for by the White House. This use—or misuse—of public money to lobby Congress for legislation appears to be an obvious violation of the United States Code, which has apparently been supplanted by the 'Great Society's' own peculiar code of ethics."

Powell Hampers Poverty Probe

Some members of Congress are not exactly happy with what the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the "War on Poverty" is doing with the $100,000 it was appropriated by the House. Headed by Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.), the subcommittee is supposed to search out possible mishandling of the Administration's anti-poverty program and prepare the groundwork for future hearings.



The subcommittee staff, however, is long on welfare workers and psychologists and very short on what it really needs: hard-nosed investigators.

Two "investigators," for example, Wellington C. Beal and Warren Wilson, have been detailed to study the controversial programs of Mobilization for Youth in New York City. MFY has been condemned for loose and shoddy administrative practices and for allowing pro-Communist agitators to manipulate its program.

Yet neither Beal nor Wilson has any extensive background in investigative work. Wilson, in fact, lists as part of his "experience" his "political campaign activity, 1964-65." Another so-called "investigator" is Loretta Barnett, whose main qualification appears to be that of being a "social science analyst."

Rep. Albert Quie (R.-Minn.) has managed to get on the staff John Buckley, a former member of

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the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but his appointment is atypical. Even more important, Buckley isn't assigned to some of the most controversial anti-poverty programs.

Yet this is only part of the story. The real scandal involving the Powell-controlled ad hoc subcommittee is its hiring of the controversial James McCarthy.

Formerly chief investigator of the subcommittee, he has now been elevated to chief of staff and is considered, along with Powell assistant Donald L. Anderson, to be in command of the investigators. McCarthy is pulling down $15,000 a year.

The main objection to McCarthy was his role as MFY's director while that anti-poverty program was under heavy fire from several sources, including the New York *Daily News*, City Council President Paul Screvane and a committee of the New York State Legislature.

A report prepared by Council President Screvane last year accused McCarthy of being "culpable for loose and shoddy administrative practices, specifically in the fields of personnel, fiscal and administrative control. He was culpable for his own lavish and improper spending of MFY funds. There was apparently no check on his expenditures and there were no rules or regulations limiting them. He must be held responsible, too, for failing to establish personnel procedures and standards insuring against the hiring of individuals of questionable background activities, and the assignment of such individuals to sensitive undertakings of MFY."

Moreover, the state senate committee, headed by John Marchi, listed by name those individuals with "questionable background activities" and found outright members of the Communist party had been working for MFY under McCarthy's reign.

Nevertheless, Adam Clayton Powell and Co. sought him out to lead an "investigation" of the anti-poverty program.

It would seem that here is another issue that the Republicans could exploit. But many apparently seem afraid to do so, since MFY is championed by Rep. John Lindsay, self-styled Republican from New York, who is now running for mayor. Apparently, many don't want to "jeopardize" Lindsay's chances of winning.

The Left Leaves the Left

The far-out Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), which controlled the recent National Student Association convention at Madison, Wis., and is a central instrument for agitation against a hard-line American foreign policy, may now be too far left for some of its previous radical supporters.

The left itself has recently struck two blows against SDS. The Socialist-liberal *New Leader*, no longer the stalwart anti-Communist magazine it was a few years ago, still managed to print a damaging article against SDS's left-wing activities in its September 27 issue.

On the same date, the Socialist League for Industrial Democracy took action: It decided to permanently cut off funds to its offspring. Officially, SDS has been the student wing of LID.

LID executive secretary Tom Kahn admits the controlling factor in LID's decision was the belief that further contributions would have jeopardized its own tax-exempt status. But there is no question that SDS's militant brand of leftism served to hasten the action.

Members of LID and other non-Communist radicals became wary of SDS this June when the student group scrapped from its constitution any mention of opposition to communism. Equally disturbing to many leftists were some of the proposals put forth at the convention by SDS bigwig Clark Kissinger, including one that SDS send men into Army camps to urge inductees not to fight in Viet Nam. Many non-Communist leftists, also, have never been too happy with the photos of Lenin hanging from the walls in SDS's New York office.

The question thus arises: How did this extremist group, now being denounced even by the left, manage to gain control of the National Student Association convention in Madison?

Senator Ted Pushes Crony

Pro-Kennedy forces in the Capital are running into strong opposition to their attempt to secure a choice, $30,000-a-year federal judgeship for Francis X. Morrissey, a close family friend and political aide.

Morrissey is being strongly supported by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.) and has had intervention on his behalf from Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach, an action considered "unusual" by Washington officials. LBJ agreed to nominate Morrissey to the Federal District Court in Boston, but only after consulting with Sen. Kennedy.

Opposition to Morrissey is intense. Many critics maintain that he is nothing but a Kennedy clan crony. A political aide and personal attorney to the late John F. Kennedy, he is described in Theodore Sorensen's biography, *Kennedy*, as a "political confidence man."

American Bar Association leaders are so upset they have promised to testify personally against him. Besides the ABA and its president, Edward Kuhn of Memphis, Tenn., testimony against the nomination is expected from Boston and Massachusetts bar groups which have opposed Morrissey in the past.

Albert E. Jenner Jr., chairman of the ABA's committee on the federal judiciary, has denounced Morrissey as "unqualified." Jenner said Morrissey had "no trial experience or experience in the general practice of law." The Chicago attorney said Morrissey lacked the experience necessary to meet the problems faced by the district court in antitrust law, security cases, federal-state relations, constitutional law and individual liberty and property. Exclaimed Jenner:

"Why, they don't even have juries" in Boston Municipal Court, where Morrissey presently presides as "judge."

Jenner claims, and this has been confirmed by Sen. Kennedy, that Morrissey suffers from "poor scholarship—a mediocre student in law school who flunked the bar examination twice."

• Political commentator Fulton Lewis Jr. says the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has to confirm Morrissey's appointment, might want to find out about his relations with a deported gangster, Michael Spinella. In 1961, says Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Morrissey journeyed to Italy accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Ted Kennedy. The two couples spent a long evening with Spinella at the posh Hotel Quisisana on the Isle of Capri. Spinella later wrote a friend in the United States that he had supplied Morrissey considerable information on the "illegality" of his deportation.

U.N. Aid for New York?

Rep. John Lindsay (R.-N.Y.), running for mayor of New York City, keeps proving he's an ultra-liberal Democrat in GOP clothing. On a recent WCBS-TV program in New York, which included the three mayoral candidates, Lindsay called for a massive housing program which would cost the American taxpayers at least $2 billion over a four-year period.

According to Lindsay's own figures, the cost of his plan would equal all the federal, state and city spending on housing in New York City since 1950. Conservative party candidate William F. Buckley Jr. felt impelled to ask Lindsay if he were going to get this money from "the United Nations."

Lindsay ignored this, but did say he would go, hat in hand, to the federal government. Lindsay's total sales talk was not far behind that of Democratic candidate Abraham Beame, who made this crass pitch to the voter: "I will go to Washington, where I have close ties and will be welcomed as a Democrat to fight for federal aid."

Buckley, unable to stand it any longer, roasted the New York congressman over the coals. He said Lindsay uses the "machinery of one party, but is steadfastly disloyal to it . . . . I object that the two-party system is being destroyed on the crucible of his conscience . . . ." Looking straight at Lindsay, Buckley snapped: "Why don't you become a Democrat?"

CAPITOL CAMERA

• *Bayard Rustin, prominent civil rights leader, refused to sign a loyalty oath normally required of speakers at Maryland University for "civil libertarian" reasons. In spite of his refusal, Rustin was allowed to speak.*

• Iowa's legendary GOP Rep. H.R. Gross, the sole Republican survivor of the LBJ sweep of Iowa's congressional seats, will stay in Congress this year. The sharp-tongued Hawkeye faced a recount challenge from his Democratic opponent, Stephen M. Peterson, whom he defeated by a scant 419 votes out of 166,000 cast. The House elections subcommittee, headed by Rep. Robert T. Ashmore (D.-S.C.), last week voted unanimously to dismiss Peterson's challenge. Peterson said he was sure Gross himself was not involved in any fraud, but the narrowness of the vote required a recount, in his view. Ashmore after the hearings said that Peterson had "failed to prove any ground or basis" for a recount. Thus, one of the House's most colorful characters will be able to continue his efforts to salvage what is left of the taxpayer's dollar.

GROSS

• *Federal anti-poverty funds are being used to further the political career of Wisconsin Lt. Gov. Patrick Lucey, a Democrat. The* Capital Times *of Madison said that press releases and research are being handled for Lucey by two University of Wisconsin students under the anti-poverty program. The federal government pays 90 per cent of the $1.50 hourly wage and Lucey is paying the remaining 10 per cent.*

• Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) has produced figures which show that even with the recent 7 per cent increase in Social Security benefits, pensioners now have less buying power than they had in 1958 and 1954. Sen. Miller, a top fiscal expert, said that inflation has eroded away all of the increases voted this year by Congress and put the pensioner in a worse position than he was in 10 years ago.

MILLER

• *Clarence Brown Jr. will be the Republican candidate in a special fall election for the Ohio congressional seat his father held for 27 years. Young Brown, a newspaper publisher, triumphed in a seven-man primary late last month. Administration forces will throw huge sums of money into the 7th District to capture the GOP seat.*

• Chairman Harold Cooley (D.-Calif.) of the House Agriculture Committee has warned against passage of an Administration proposal to blanket farm labor under the minimum wage. Rep. Cooley said such legislation would lead to a rise in food costs of substantial proportions throughout the nation. "Moreover," he said, "this legislation could have devastating consequences for the workers themselves in that it will certainly hasten the substitution of machines for manpower on our farms and eliminate thousands of farm jobs. This would mean a new migration of unemployed farm workers to our cities to create poverty faster than it can be cured."

COOLEY

• *An otherwise ignorant October 2* New Republic *article concerning Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) has this bit of accurate information: "He is not obsessed by a fear of communism; he is more worried at the moment about anti-communism."*

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Left-Wing British Poet Named To Library of Congress Post

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

In the days when it was fashionable to be a Communist party member, Stephen Spender led a literary contingent into the ranks. This was back in the 1930s, and Mr. Spender was, as he admits, too undisciplined to remain with the comrades very long. But this did not prevent him from going to Spain in the days when Stalin and Hitler faced each other across a bloody no-man's land or in continuing as a kind of poet laureate of the extreme left.

All of this is Stephen Spender's business and when the writers of literary history judge him it will be on the basis of his poetry, which in my book is quite good. Of significance now is Mr. Spender's current political orientation, and this because he has been quietly appointed Poetry Consultant at the Library of Congress.

The first question to be asked, however, is why an Englishman should be given a position to which American poets are entitled, whether by stature or not. Mr. Spender airily brushes this aside, suggesting that he was named because "they must have run out of Americans." There will be little laughter in poetry circles over this quip.

American verse today is more alive and far superior to the British product, which has tended to thin out. There are few enough rewards for poets in this country and I could name several who could use a year as Poetry Consultants, with the money and prestige attached to the post.

That Mr. Spender is poaching on American preserves is one thing. His attitude toward the enemies of this country is something else again. Presumably, those who appointed him knew what that attitude was. Certainly Mr. Spender has made no secret of where he stands. Discussing the political position of *Encounter*, a British magazine he edits with Melvin J. Lasky, Mr. Spender has noted that it began as a voice of opposition to both communism and fascism.

But *Encounter* has lost its crusading zeal. "Today," Mr. Spender says, "we would probably stress the good in Soviet society rather than the evil." He does not spell out what good there may be in the Soviet dictatorship—its anti-Semitism, its continued suppression of all those values to which Mr. Spender as a poet presumably gives his loyalty.

To expect a cogent answer is the height of optimism. As he told a Washington interviewer recently, "I am not very rational, I am afraid."

It would be interesting to find out precisely why he was chosen. After all, the Library of Congress is a creature of the House and the Senate.

Both of these bodies have a legitimate reason for demanding to know why their instrumentality should be helping a British poet make his way to further stardom while Americans are passed by. This is not chauvinism at all. Poetry Consultant to the Library of Congress is the nearest equivalent to Great Britain's Poet Laureate. And I have yet to hear that this honor has ever been bestowed on anyone but a British subject.

It might be asked, too, why, if the Library of Congress feels compelled to import a British poet, it did not select W.H. Auden, a man of infinitely greater talents who has become an American citizen and participated in this country's literary life.

The argument might then have been made that Mr. Auden is in the top rank of English-speaking poets and therefore brought honor to the Library of Congress. But the importation of a minor poet with dubious political sentiments makes no sense. Nor does the appointment make sense when Mr. Spender himself remarks that his past party membership "troubled the American immigration people a great deal."

Someone of considerable importance must have intervened to get Mr. Spender over that hurdle.

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JUST IN CASE—It is disclosed that federal tax agents are taught lock-picking. Just in case, we presume, routine authorized pocketpicking ever should become unprofitable.—From the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*.

□ □ □

COULD BE—The U.N. majority, now ruling that nations which don't pay their bills can vote, next may rule that nations which do pay their bills can't vote.—By Nathan Nielsen in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

□ □ □

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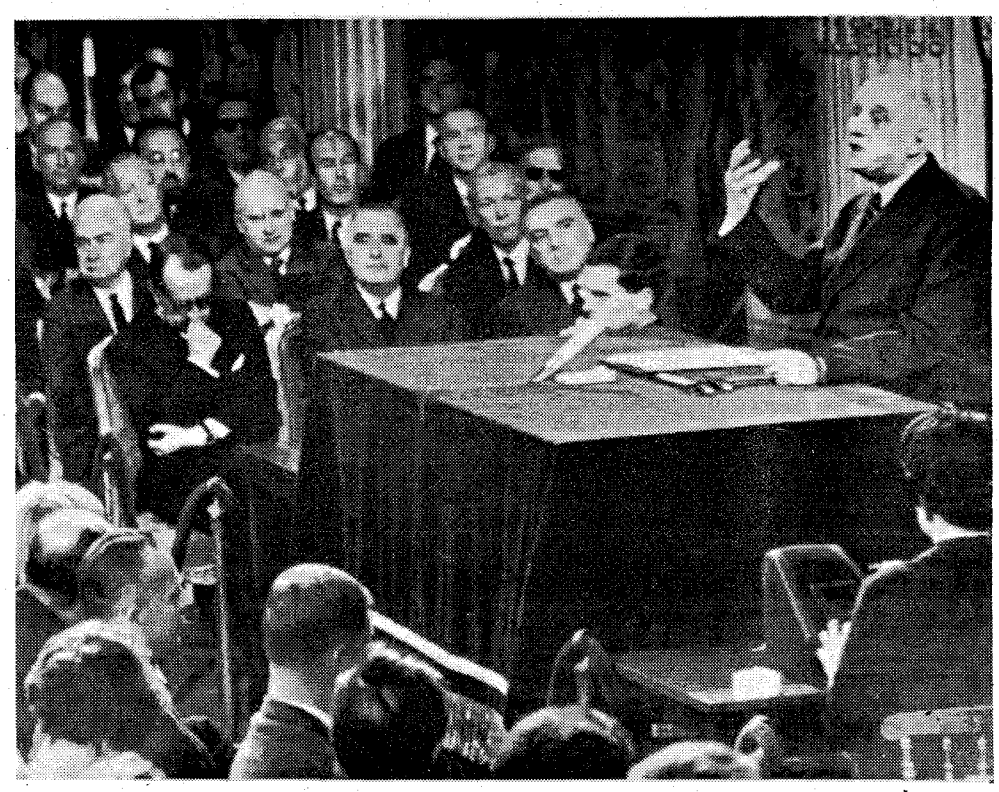

French President De Gaulle holds his semi-annual news conference in Paris.

Dodges Viet Nam Query

De Gaulle Still Has Lust for Power

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

At President Charles de Gaulle's now famous Elysee Palace press conference in Paris I was amazed how verbose he has become.

I kept thinking to myself what a change this was from the old days in London and Algiers, and wondered how many present remembered those times, and this difference, as he talked on and on, like a neighborhood Frenchman in a friendly bistro, for nearly two hours.

My seat was in the first row, only a few feet from the president, and as he spoke, or paused, you could nearly read his mind in his eyes. Each touch of humor, too, showed there before he gave his answers in an easy, conversational tone.

This of itself was strange, for de Gaulle has been growing partially blind (an undiscussed subject in the French press) and except on public display is seldom seen without ultra-thick glasses.

This factor excluded, you hear it widely said abroad, especially among de Gaulle's hopeful enemies, that he may not run again in the November election because of his health. But from what I saw of his vigor and mental alertness, and certainly his relish in what he had to say, it seems to me this idea is absurd.

"*Bis' hundertunzwanzig*" is a Jewish toast for a long life; Moses lived 120 years. De Gaulle—three times, and each time with a twinkle—practically offered the toast to himself as the session wore on.

Age? He has privately reminded Andre Maurois and others of Adenauer's and Churchill's ages when still in harness. No, de Gaulle loves power. And he has an uncanny ability, even in the weakest of positions, to play off attacking groups (domestic or foreign), ruin their positions, and emerge unscathed and often even stronger. I think he'll try to stay in command as long as he's alive.

Moreover, de Gaulle has not only failed to sponsor any successor, he has made it painfully plain to everybody in his party that the fastest road to oblivion under de Gaulle is to sound like a man who might succeed him.

All France stops to watch television at this semiannual meeting of her president with the press and the whole of France's genius for beauty graces the affair.

He comes in unattended except by his cabinet, who flank him in orderly rows of chairs. They're all much younger; a very impressive-looking lot. In fact, de Gaulle is regarded as having the ablest cabinet in Europe.

Instead of being fenced in by microphones, de Gaulle simply sits relaxed at a beautiful table in the magnificent room, without flags or presidential insignia, and a single small microphone pipes him to the global circuits, with all the paraphernalia out of sight.

Everything fits his conversational tone; no notes, no documents, no reading, no prompting of any kind. He just talks and talks. He takes the questions from the floor in groups of three or four and then combines them in his answer. But de Gaulle plants the questions in advance—and, although the world press attends, the questions for years on end have come exclusively from French representatives.

The attendant who passes the microphone, however, happened to pause on the way past me. I told him I would like to ask a question and, somehow, thus found myself on French television.

I identified myself as a visiting American journalist, of course, which was certainly not in the script, and de Gaulle clearly showed his surprise.

I said all Americans were dismayed by his stand against the United States in Viet Nam, remembering how we aided France at home and abroad when France was embroiled in Indochina, and asked whether we could hope that he would modify his position to help us, and not hurt us, in Southeast Asia and throughout the free world.

De Gaulle waited a few moments and then stated he would answer my question. But he did not answer it, a fact that seems to have been evident on the television screens of Europe. It is also equally evident abroad that the French people have not fully grasped the tragic degree to which this great Frenchman's policies have strained our goodwill toward their lovely land.

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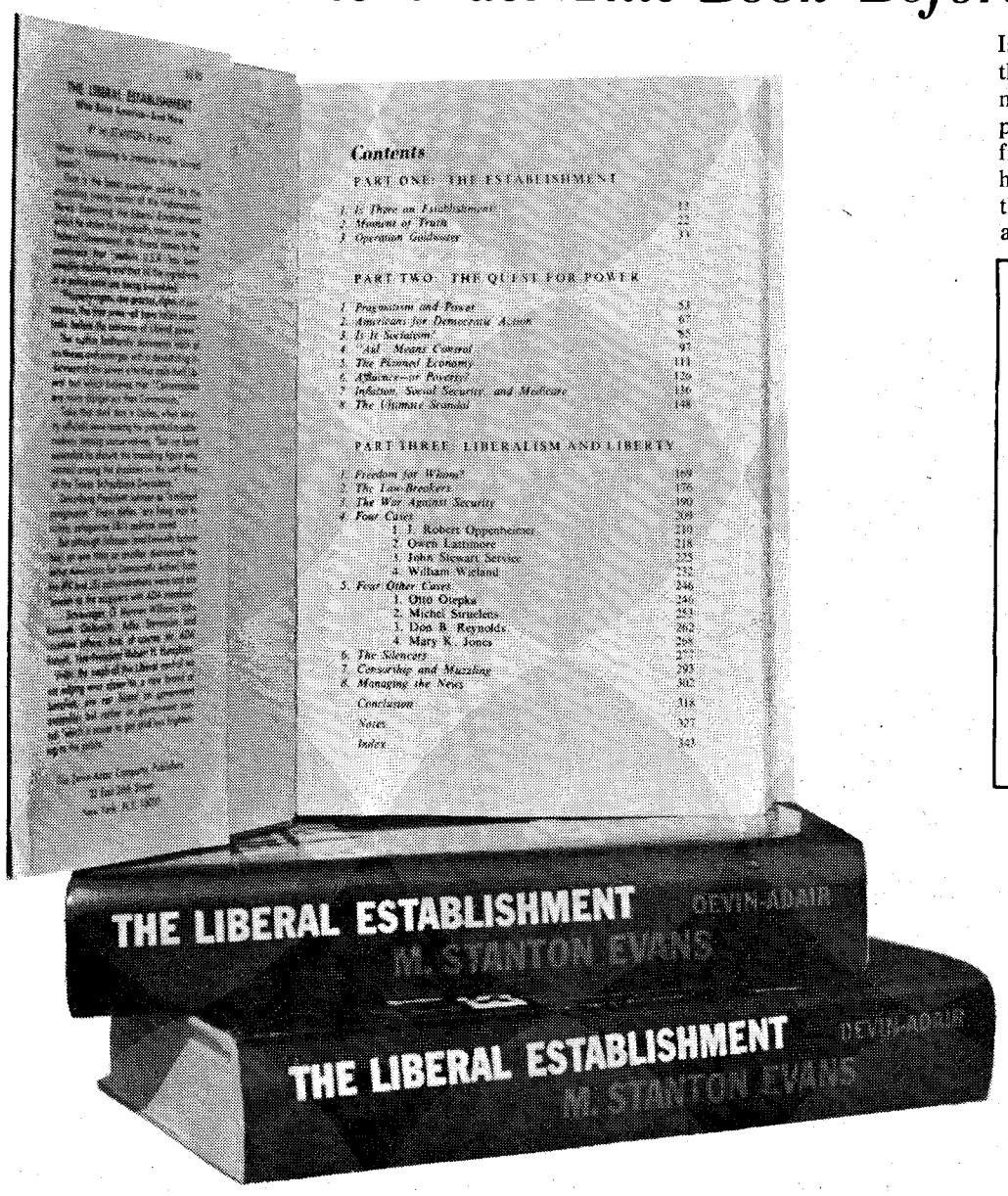

Is freedom safe in the hands of the Liberal Establishment? "No," says Mr. Evans, the brilliant young editor of the Indianapolis *News*, who then goes on to document his case in a dazzling fashion. From the "oversights" of the Warren Report to the decisions of the Supreme Court making America safe for criminals; from an analysis of LBJ's quest for more and more power, to a demonstration of how federal agencies exercise control over our national life, this book runs through the whole range of liberal hypocricy and shortsightedness and leaves it exposed for all to shudder at.

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Just Around the Corner:

New Series of National Strikes

By VICTOR RIESEL

Labor's high command always plays it close to its ample vest. The supreme council gathers—as it has been—in New York City—behind closed doors which have been penetrated only once when a newsman hid in a closet.

Then begins a charade. For a few moments the national labor chiefs go over the mimeographed statements which will be handed to an unenthusiastic band of newsmen waiting outside.

The statements traditionally are plodding, self-pleading, lackluster and unemotional. It is intended they shall be so. It is the only concession the labor leaders make to modern public relations.

It takes skill to be so plebian in the name of the proletariat. It gives the impression the labor men have lost their zing. Nothing could be less true.

These are tough strategists. Organizing drives are coming. Strikes are here and up ahead. Imaginative campaigns are in the making. The grand plans know no national boundaries.

In the next few months labor will march on the aerospace installations, far-flung steel plants, the oil industry, electronic factories and the nation's railroads.

Too many observers overlook the new militancy as they play a numbers game. They believe age in the high council means mental arthritis in labor's thinking. They write off the American labor movement just as it is shifting into high gear.

This country, for example, faces a coast-to-coast oil refinery and fuel installation strike on October 8. The man who'll lead it is Al Grospiron. He took the presidency of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union late in August. A few days later he set a national strike deadline.

He wants a 5 per cent wage increase —not 3.2 under the President's guidelines, not 4 per cent as set by Walter Reuther and Abe Abel, but 5 per cent more.

Schools and aerospace installations are among Walter Reuther's targets.

Otherwise, says he, the oil workers will pull their first national stoppage in 13 years. He means it. At 49, he's militant and set to roll.

By the year's end he'll be on the AFL-CIO Executive Council, according to the insiders.

At the same time labor's legions will be moving in on the aerospace industry. Previous warning of this in this column has been ignored.

But when the AFL-CIO Executive Council was called to order at 10 a.m. on September 13 in the Hotel Commodore (a floor below the critical newspaper strike negotiations), pickets were ranging in front of America's key space installations all the way from Cape Kennedy and the Huntsville Saturn test site to Seattle. It was no less tough simply because the strikers were members of the International Association of Machinists, whose brand-new president, Roy Siemiller, is 61 years old. Siemiller too will soon be on the high council.

They hit Boeing, as Walter Reuther and his second in command, Leonard Woodcock, plan to go after the rest of the aerospace field. Reuther, 58, is not especially out of zing.

His concepts of new contracts, new company expenditures for relocation of workers and financing of communities hit by phasing out of armaments, earthbound and aerial, will gray the heads of younger corporate executives.

And almost everybody is overlooking the fury building up on the railroads. If there is no serious threat of a nationwide rail stoppage next February and March, some of us insiders will eat the boiler of a museum locomotive right in front of the Smithsonian.

There is no point in further listing of the strike roll. There is plenty of zing—and it is in the white collar and professional union as well. It is the veteran Reuther and his revitalized Industrial Union Department which successfully launched the teachers' revolution. And this new saga of the schoolrooms has just begun.

It is the new breed, such as Howard Coughlin, a blend of erudition and practical trade unionism, now head of the Office and Professional Employes International Union, which is measuring the big banks and brokerage houses for organizing drives. And backing him at all times are the elders of the high council.

What many observers overlook is the fact that labor's high command—the AFL-CIO Executive Council—really is a Washington lobby for a coalition of autonomous unions. The elders are strategists. They served their picket line apprenticeship long ago.

Today they are the statesmen who confer publicly – and privately as Reuther did the other Friday—with the President of the United States.

And if you don't believe they have zing, just get a briefing on what transpires.

Reports that labor is in its dotage are premature. Their hair may be gray and fuzzy. But not their minds. Not their sense of strategy. They just play it that way.

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CITY LEADERS TELL WASHINGTON:

"We'd Rather Do It Ourselves"

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"You're either for slums or against slums," a veteran municipal commissioner grumbles in exasperation. "And what city official is going to line up in favor of slums?"

To city officials and people everywhere the alternatives are sometimes pictured as federal urban renewal or nothing. More than 800 cities have come to Washington for federal tax funds. Others will doubtless follow.

Yet some cities are firmly resisting the pressures that lure others to Washington, hat in hand. Many of these are growing cities, whose populations have doubled or tripled since the war as the nation has become 70 per cent urbanized.

Editors of *Nation's Business* talked with mayors and other elected officials of eight such communities across the nation, with populations ranging as high as 200,000. This is significant in view of the fact that the bulk of urban renewal projects are in small and medium-sized cities.

In discussing their communities, the officials offered a broad range of reasons for their opposition to federal handouts. They showed that there are alternatives to the federal program and explained how these alternatives are being applied—with results.

Bloomington, Minn., mayor likens cities to relief cheats

Here are their stories:

"A city that takes urban renewal money from Washington when it doesn't need it is no more ethical than a person who chisels on public relief."

That's the opinion of Donald R. Hasselberg, mayor of Bloomington, Minn., a city of 67,000 people near suburban Minneapolis.

Mayor Hasselberg is a slide-rule-wielding corporate accountant whose background in accountancy has made him a diligent student of municipal finances —his own and others'.

Study of the federal government's own figures, he says, proves that many cities receiving urban renewal aid from Washington are perfectly capable of paying their own way and, in some cases, are free of any debt.

In fact, he argues, some cities now pulling in millions in urban renewal assistance couldn't demonstrate a real need for the money "if an objective needs test were applied."

Bloomington, though rapidly growing and potentially eligible for federal money, has no federal urban renewal money, has no federal urban renewal projects and doesn't want any, according to its 49-year-old mayor. He proudly points to the 22 schools built in Bloomington since 1950 and the fact that the city has met all of its local commitments through bond issues since that time. The city's physical layout embraces everything from farms to factories and industrial parks.

Mayor Hasselberg's review of urban renewal in other cities has convinced him that delays and red tape are more often the rule than the exception when a community decides to go the federal route.

"More important," he continues, "is the appalling misconception on the part of many people that money they get from Washington is 'free.' They overlook the fact that Washington hasn't got any money that it didn't get from the people in the first place. And they overlook the fact that when this money is doled out to rich and poor communities alike a very inequitable financial base is laid. There are going to be some cities—a major Midwestern city comes to mind—that are going to get far more than they deserve."

With the attitude of "everybody's doing it" so widespread, why should any city, well-off or not, refrain from seeking federal dollars? Mayor Hasselberg answers his own question: "I believe those able to pay their own way have a moral responsibility not to go after Washington money just because it is there."

He believes big-city politicians must shoulder much of the blame for the mushrooming growth of the federal urban renewal program, but is equally severe in criticizing smaller city mayors and officials who refuse to speak out in defense of the self-help principle.

Bloomington recently put in its own water and sewer system, a project that meant tearing up 200 miles of local streets, without seeking a cent of federal money.

Pomona, Calif., businessmen finance the city's face lifting

"The businessmen assessed themselves and paid for it," says Councilman Benjamin M. Lawing of the Pomona, Calif., shopping mall, completed about two years ago at a cost of $600,000.

"Practically everything we've done has been with private funds and there's a tremendous amount of private renewal going on right now."

The councilman explains why Pomona, which is among the cities singled out by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States as an example of local initiative, prefers to go it alone without federal funds:

"So often when you accept federal money you get everything else that goes with it. They'd try to apply the same standards to Pomona that they apply to St. Louis. It's analogous to trying to paint all parts of a house with one paint brush."

Spokane, Wash., federal aid was killed after careful look

City Councilman William L. Batt, of Spokane, Wash., was inclined to favor the federal urban renewal program—until he took a close look at it.

That was some years back, before he became one of the leaders of the opposition in a knock-down local fight over federal urban renewal that ended in victory for his side. Spokane's voters went to the polls in 1963 and rejected the idea of accepting federal funds by a margin of two to one.

"When I studied the law and the federal program carefully I was shocked by the number of controls and entanglements that go with Uncle Sam's money," he recalls.

Mr. Batt is the 43-year-old district manager of a national food products company. He was head of a sales and marketing executives group in Spokane when he first entered the urban renewal fray. The fight was spirited: One local newspaper favored the Washington-run program, a second opposed it. There

Mayors Donald Hasselberg (left) of Bloomington, Minn., and Hank Avery of Midland, Tex., have led the fight against federal intrusion in their cities.

were heated debates on television, in the press and at public hearings.

"The issue got a full airing—which it should get in any city," Mr. Batt continues. "I feel that if voters and taxpayers hear both sides of this issue, they'll choose local initiative over federal intervention."

Spokane has some 190,000 people. Since the special election in 1963 the city and local business have begun a do-it-yourself renewal program. The Spokane River, which flows through the city, has been beautified and a number of older commercial buildings have been rehabilitated.

But admittedly, Mr. Batt says, much remains to be done. Last year the city's voters rejected an $11-million bond issue that would have authorized construction of a new city hall, library, police and fire station complex and other downtown projects.

"We probably tried to bite off too much," the councilman explains.

"Our strategy now is to move in smaller steps. We hope to go back to the voters soon with a less costly bond issue proposition. Some tax help from the state would be desirable, too."

Sentiment for renewal is still strong in Spokane, he emphasizes, and he reads the local pulse as still strongly favoring renewal through local leadership. The aim of the city fathers is to make Spokane, with its great water, power and transportation resources, compellingly attractive to new industry.

"The more cities let Washington solve their problems, the more likely it becomes that at some point in the future they won't have the option of acting on their own," Mr. Batt warns.

Midland, Tex., pressures aid local approach

The threat of publicity exposing those who "profiteer from the slums" helps city officials in Midland, Tex., a town of 65,000 that tripled its population in the last 10 years, in its campaign against urban blight.

Mayor Hank Avery says his city, a comparatively young, wealthy and growing community, has been plagued by some substandard housing. But the city uses its persuasive powers to clean it out rather than letting blight spread.

Building inspectors follow a vigorous enforcement policy, and extension of street paving, water and sewer "creates incentive to keep houses up."

But the city has demonstrated a willingness to use a tougher weapon when necessary: When an owner refuses to meet minimum standards, the city condemns the property, clears the land and slaps on a lien which means the property cannot be sold until the owner reimburses the city for the costs of clearance.

Mayor Avery says the city tax department aids in the effort by going after slum owners who are delinquent in their tax payments.

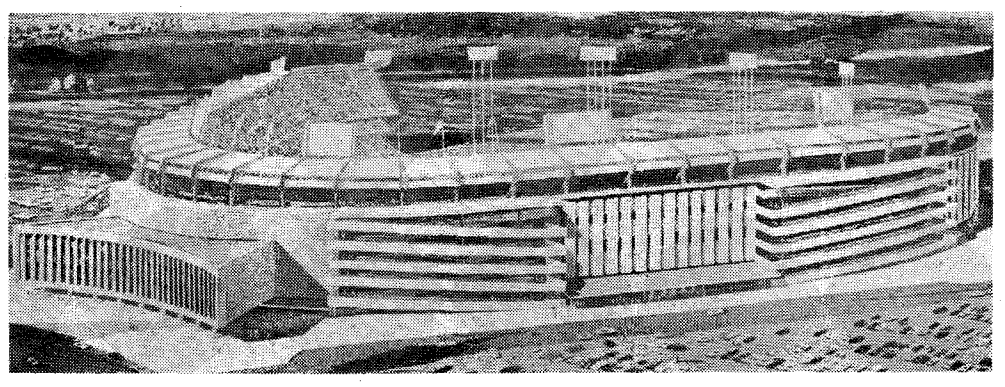
Reno, Nev., mayor inherits federal plan, now wants out

Initiation of a federal urban renewal project in Reno, Nev., was a mistake, according to Assistant Mayor Roy G. Bankofier—a mistake that won't be repeated.

Mr. Bankofier, whose administration inherited the project from its predecessors in office, objects that the project was not geared to the tourist city's needs and that federal funds were unnecessary.

He says the project, for which most of the land has been acquired, was designed for industrial development, although the city already has more land zoned for industrial use than is needed.

(Continued on following page)



This 45,000-seat stadium in Anaheim, Calif., is now under construction without a dime of federal funds involved. Many other projects of this nature are underway in this community south of Los Angeles.

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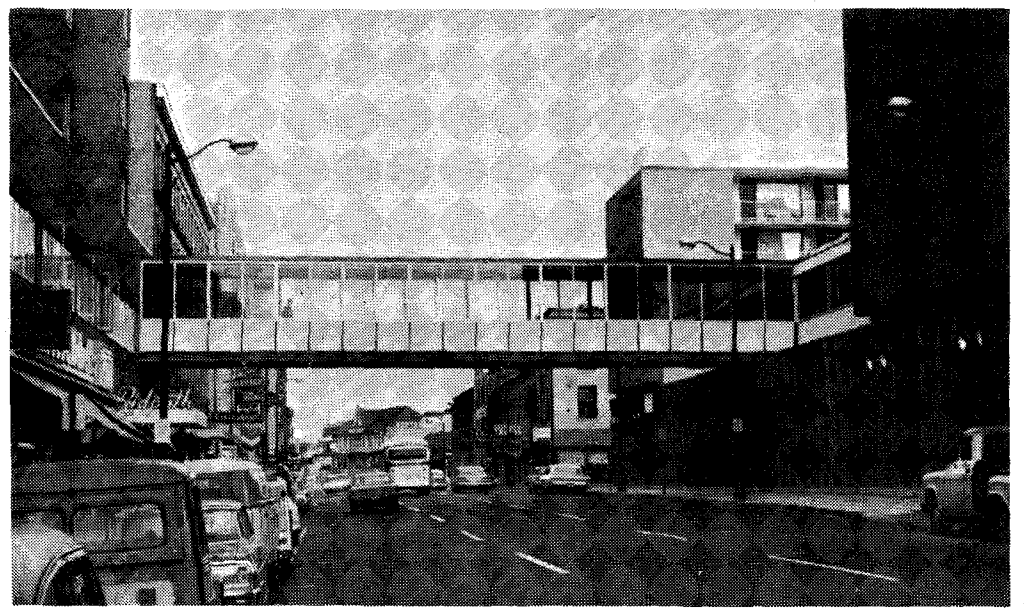
Communities throughout the country are rebuilding without federal doles.



Spokane, Wash., a city of 190,000, has undertaken a vast program of privately financed civic improvements such as this pedestrian overpass.

Since taking office, his administration has cut the project in half and hopes to rush it through to completion with nonindustrialist development. After that, no more for any purpose. The reason:

"To take federal funds when you don't need to—that's what I'm opposed to. It's the weakness of so many city administrations."

Anaheim, Calif., flatly rejects bid for federal aid

A planning firm hired by Anaheim, Calif., has urged the city to apply for urban renewal funds in Washington, but Mayor Fred T. Krein and his colleagues on the City Council "are not interested."

Anaheim is a community of 150,000 people just 25 miles south of Los Angeles. Among other claims to fame, it's the home of Disneyland.

Self-reliance has always characterized the spirit in Anaheim, Mayor Krein points out. He doesn't expect this attitude to evaporate, despite surging population growth, rising service needs and some internal pressure for using federal subsidies to modernize part of the city's downtown core.

To illustrate his belief that Anaheim can take care of itself, Mayor Krein ticks off an impressive number of new, locally financed projects: a 45,000-seat stadium under construction and scheduled to open in time for the 1966 season of the Los Angeles Angels; a 6,500-seat convention center now going up, and a new water reservoir under construction. Total cost for all: at least $35 million.

"We haven't reached the limit of our ability to bear municipal debt," asserts the 71-year-old mayor. "I am confident that our local government and private businesses can take care of whatever needs we have without turning to Washington. Anaheim businessmen have already done some urban renewing of their own. We're not against 'urban renewal' per se, you see—just the federal variety. We simply prefer to do it ourselves."

Jackson, Miss., housing will seem key to self-help renewal

Rehabilitating blighted properties, rather than chasing slum dwellers out with bulldozers, is emphasized in Jackson, Miss., under a program launched 12 years ago by veteran Mayor Allen C. Thompson.

The results have been so successful over the years, he says, that Jackson has no need for federal urban renewal funds. "We caught ours in time."

Mayor Thompson says the basis of his city's program is enforcement of a minimum housing standards ordinance by city inspectors who examine property on their own initiative.

This is unlike the case in many larger cities—including some getting federal funds—where inspection is a sometime thing performed only in response to complaints.

With slum landlords, says Mayor Thompson, "I throw my weight around a little bit."

But with owner-occupants of rundown homes, "We hold off as long as we can, try to play ball with them." The city enforcement is flexible, giving residents a chance to make improvements gradually and within their means. "We don't do anything that's going to break anybody."

The banks go all out, he adds, in making loans available to bring homes up to standard and keep them that way.

Mayor Thompson recalls that 57 properties were acquired by the city, without the need of court action, to provide a street near the state capitol several years ago and development of the surrounding area seemed to blossom of its own accord.

Mayor Fred Krein of Anaheim and City Councilman William Batt (at right) of Spokane, have stressed local self-help in city planning.

And he says the same happens on a slum street when inspection brings about needed repairs. "You improve some [properties] in a neighborhood and the rest of the people want to improve theirs."

Housing improvements, without subsidy from federal, state or local funds, lead to somewhat higher rents, says Mayor Thompson, but this is minimized by the availability of low-income housing in the city and current construction of additional units.

Studies in other cities have shown that residents displaced by federal urban renewal often end up paying more for rent, too.

Slum abatement in Jackson has had an additional dividend, according to the mayor. "It wasn't designed with this specifically in mind, but it has served to keep down racial tension."

Orlando, Fla., alternatives keep federal hands off

How can local leaders kill a federal urban renewal project proposed for their city?

"The way to go about it is to present an alternative plan that will accomplish the same thing."

This was the approach followed by City Commissioner John B. Newsom of Orlando, Fla., whose voters dealt a 2-to-1 defeat to an urban renewal project last fall despite a powerful pro-renewal coalition of press and public figures.

Commissioner Newsom says he and a "double handful" of do-it-yourselfers had a tough job trying to "refute the glowing claims that come out of Washington. The field is flooded with federal publications."

Then, too, renewal advocates, armed with fancy charts, maps and brochures and financed by federal planning money, were dishing out propaganda to the effect that the federal program would stimulate $100 million in private investment in their central Florida city of 100,000 population.

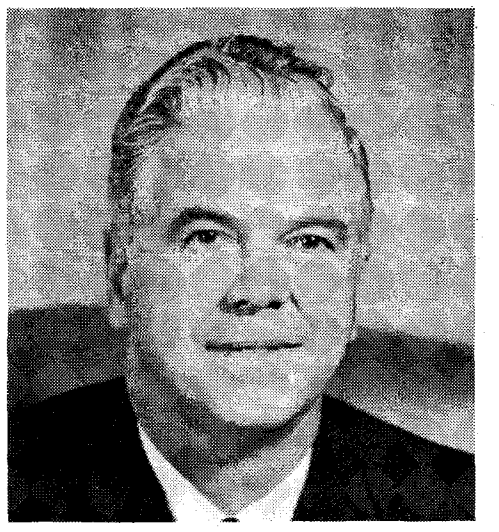
The mayor and one commissioner were in favor of the project, as were a number of nongovernmental community leaders.

But Commissioner Newsom and two other commissioners argued that Orlando's slum problems were a local, not a federal responsibility; city taxpayers would be forced to subsidize the profits of private developers; massive and drawn-out clearance would erode the city's financial base; private property owners who let their holdings deteriorate should be the ones to fix them up.

As to the area planned for the initial project, they asked: "Who the hell are they doing it for? Not the people in the area."

Many residents of the project area—a high proportion of Negroes who bitterly opposed the project—were paying rent of around $40 a month. The rent of proposed replacement housing would run twice that cost.

And they cited the experience of other communities, as reported by Martin Anderson's book *The Federal Bulldozer*.



Mayor Allen Johnson of Jackson, Miss., notes that strong enforcement of minimum housing standards is the basis for Jackson's renewal program.

But Commissioner Newsom cites this clincher: Not long before the November election, when urban renewal was on the ballot, his side secured a public pledge from the vast majority of owners whose property was to be taken that they would comply with the city's housing standards and undertake such improvements as sidewalks and street paving. This was coupled with a pledge that the city would enforce building standards, flexibly yet firmly, cooperating in the rehabilitation effort. When the votes were counted, the federal project was killed—16,000 to 8,000.

Orlando sent observers to Jackson, Miss., to study that city's 12-year-old rehabilitation program for ideas that could be applied in Orlando. (See the comments above of Mayor Allen C. Thompson of Jackson.)

The Orlando program is now under way and the results are already visible, says Commissioner Newsom. "I mean they're damn nice houses when you get through."

He tells Nation's Business: **"I believe this firmly. If communities could hold a referendum on every urban renewal project—and give the people the benefit of the experience of other cities in urban renewal and the facts of what it would accomplish—they'd vote it down."**

All too often, he adds, a city's adoption of urban renewal is like "joining the Capone mob or the Mafia. Once you're in, you can't get out. One project leads to another and one administration inherits the program from the last. "It's hard to break the daisy chain."

BLACK STAR PHOTO

Orlando City Commissioner John B. Newsom dramatizes his city's opposition to federal urban renewal. Orlando voters defeated an urban renewal project last fall despite a powerful coalition of the press and public figures pushing the plan.

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Are the Beatles Art? The 'Czar' Will Decide

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

Are the Beatles "art"? The question is not phrased with a perfect grammatical nicety, perhaps, but the meaning is clear. And the question is put seriously: When the Beatles go to howling on stage, or Mr. Presley tells his houn' dawg that he ain't nothing but a, are these gentlemen engaged in artistic production?

Some of us doubtless would say, no, this may be noise, but it is not art. Some of us quite probably would be wrong. Until just recently, it would have made no significant difference in the United States what any one critic thought of Mr. R. Starr, the percussionist; or of Mr. E. Presley, baritone; or for that matter, of the late Mr. Spike Jones, conductor.

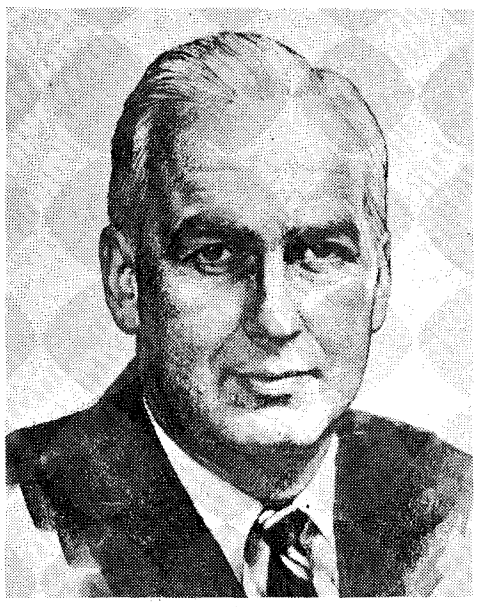
Now it does make a difference. On September 15, the House voted overwhelmingly for a monstrosity of a bill to create five different agencies in the field of the arts and humanities. On the following day, the Senate accepted the House bill.

We are now embarked on a permanent program authorizing the expenditure of at least $21 million a year in federal tax funds for the promoton of culture under the beneficent auspices of that eminent authority on poetry, Lyndon Baines Johnson, the Pedernales Pericles. God save the Republic!

Roughly half of the authorized sum is to be spent on grants for research in the humanities. The other half is to be spent on "the arts." Under the act, these grants are to be disbursed at the sole discretion of two chairmen to be appointed by the President, a chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and a chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts. To be sure, each of these gentlemen is expected to listen to the "advice" of a window-dressing national council, but in the end, the responsibility and the authority lie with the chairmen only. During debate in the House, an effort was made to dilute this czar-like power. The effort failed.

"I should state without equivocation," said the chief sponsor of the bill, Mr. Thompson of New Jersey, "that the executive branch was consulted on this matter, and feels strongly on this subject, and they want this responsibility. They feel it should belong in the chairman who is responsible to the President who, incidentally, is not only anxious but perfectly willing to accept ultimate responsibility for his action."

The nature of this ultimate responsibility should be clearly understood.



Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N. J.) was a chief sponsor of the $21-million-a-year measure.

The chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts will have to decide for himself when a tax subsidy is sought, which productions "have substantial artistic and cultural significance." He alone must determine, ultimately, what is meant by "professional excellence." He alone, in the end, must say whether an applicant meets "standards of authenticity which are of significant merit."

It is widely assumed that the President's choice as czar of the arts will be Roger L. Stevens of Detroit, real estate broker and theatrical producer, and now chairman of the National Council on the Arts. Mr. Stevens has proposed that a part of the money to be appropriated under this bill be used to finance construction of small playhouses in neighborhood shopping centers.

It may be a fine idea, but how have we drifted into the notion that this is any business of the federal government? Why should tax funds be expended so that suburban housewives can play Hedda Gabler next to the supermarket? If money is to be handed out, why should it not be handed out for beatnik poets, pop artists, billboard painters, and incompetent welders who call themselves sculptors?

The answer to these rhetorical questions is that Mr. Stevens—or whoever—must decide for himself which art is meritorious and which is not. During the course of House debate, Iowa's irrepressible H.R. Gross offered an amendment to include those exponents of the terpsichorean arts whose skill embraces "irregular jactitations of the abdominis recti group of muscles," by which he meant belly dancers. The amendment was hooted down, but it made sense nonetheless. Who is to say that the bumps and grinds of burlesque are not, under the law, "folk art," as excellent in their way as the brassy bumps and grinds of some East Side Sibelius?

The czar is to say, that's who, and the money and prestige of federal recognition henceforth will go to the painters, sculptors, dancers, producers and composers of his choice. We may none of us know what is art, but before long we will know what he likes.

(Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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Will the Gentleman Explain His Shift on Right-to-Work?

From the Dallas *Morning News*

"I have never sought nor do I seek now the support of any labor bosses dictating to free men anywhere, anytime," declared the Texas congressman.

To make sure nobody missed his point, 10 days later he declaimed, "Although I have been a friend of the workingman, these big labor racketeers have voted to destroy me and other forthright congressmen who had the courage to vote for the Taft-Hartley bill."

Furthermore, said the congressman, referring to himself in the customary third-person form, he "voted for the Taft-Hartley anti-Communist law because he believes that no group of men—big labor or big business—should possess the power to wreck our national welfare and economy."

He would, he vowed, "never vote to repeal this law."

There were, he proclaimed two days later, only two great issues before Texas and the nation: "One is whether we should bow our necks to labor dictatorship through the repeal or softening of the anti-Communist Taft-Hartley bill; the other is the question of foreign policy."

If he did not break the letter of his vow, he has certainly pulverized his intent never to bow, for 16 years later he announced, "I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act, including Section 14b."

The congressman had in the meantime become President and the "change" in Section 14b he proposed was its liquidation. Section 14b is that provision of the law that confirms the right of the voters of each state to decide whether or not they want compulsory unionism.

Lyndon Baines Johnson has come a long way since those days when he asked and got the support of Texas voters for his defense of the Taft-Hartley Act. He has come so far that his secretary of labor, W. Willard Wirtz, can now get up before the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers and inform them that part of his job is to press for the repeal of the right-to-work law.

Lyndon Johnson has come a long way since the days when he proclaimed his readiness to defend the freedom of choice of the individual. He has come so far that his labor secretary can attempt to justify a federal seizure of the states' right to decide for themselves on right-to-work by the following curious statement:

"It is time to put an end to fruitless and acrimonious political controversy by adopting the rule of uniformity."

If this is to be the rationalization for future steps toward the "Great Society," it bodes ill for America. The "acrimonious political controversy" that we are urged to put an end to is the muscle and fiber, the very soul, of democracy. "The rule of uniformity" that we are urged to adopt has been found only in totalitarian societies in which diversity is forbidden.

It may be said—in fact it has been said and repeatedly—that in 1948 Lyndon Johnson was trying to represent Texas and that today he is trying to represent all the people. This is true and it is also true that this may cause a change in the relative importance he attaches to the issues.

But does this change the basic question of right and wrong in these issues? Can a law be perfectly just for Texans and completely unjust for other Americans? Does the change justify promising eternally to support a law in order to win one election and promising to destroy the same law to win a later election? Does the higher elevation of the White House so change the viewpoint of Lyndon B. Johnson that his convictions there can be the exact reverse of his convictions in Congress?

These questions about the theory of political relativity have been troubling us, as they have been troubling most Texans. We would be obliged to our former senator if he would explain it for us.

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COPE is housed in this $4-million headquarters of the AFL-CIO.

Likes Controlling Congress

COPE Will Use Computers To Elect Liberals in '66

By VICTOR RIESEL

Politics has become so expensive it now is the game of the poor—that is, if you think of organized labor as the proletariat of the land.

Labor's high command has just been told here in New York City by its political brain trust that it is getting an electronic assist. A confidential memo from the AFL-CIO's central political headquarters staff to the national operating committee of the Executive Council's Committee on Political Education (COPE) discloses that money and time have been put into a dramatically new political machine.

Central office strategists have been experimenting with electronic data processing equipment. The hope is eventually to be able to hit a button and learn just what every one of 13 million union members in the land has done—or not done—politically.

A closely guarded 14-page memorandum, which also outlines COPE tactics for the 1956 and 1966 elections, discloses that three computer projects have been under way for some time. According to the document the pilot projects are in "the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO, covering a potential 600,000 members; one in cooperation with the California Labor Federation in cooperation with nine San Francisco Bay area central bodies, covering a potential 250,000 to 300,000 members, and one for the Greater Washington (D.C.) Central Labor Council covering some 65,000. . . ."

There is no explanation for the selection of these areas. But it can be assumed that the test electronic run in the capital anticipates home rule and a strong labor effort to capture the municipal government in the first race.

However, it takes no cybernetic talent to realize that the data processing projects are the advance move for drives during the 1966 congressional campaign.

COPE's confidential report fears that the Democratic-labor bloc in the House of Representatives may lose anywhere from 20 to 50 seats. A loss of 40 seats would cost the coalition its control of the House and therefore of the Congress itself. The stakes are colossal.

So the computers are expected to provide the heavy artillery for the 1966 campaign. They will do more than sort membership lists of all unions in the selected areas into ward and precinct order.

By converting all membership lists to punch-card or magnetic tape systems, COPE would have the most effective political machinery in history.

The committee then could easily check the registration of millions of members and their families. Selected lists of registered and unregistered members could be provided in a few minutes for any district, any precinct, any street, even any house in areas covered.

Thus "walk lists" in street order could be pulled in a second or two from the feedback brain.

"Walk lists" are mighty useful to the local captains for final election day campaigning, the provision of car pools, and quick knowledge of who has not yet bothered to get to the balloting booth. "Walk lists" can be easily coupled with computer-supplied rosters for telephone campaigning and for selective target mailings.

The COPE pilot projects "should be in operation by the first of the year" says the COPE report. But it all takes money and manpower. So COPE now strongly recommends that all national unions create the permanent office of a national COPE director and that every local union appoint political officers (captains).

Furthermore, COPE asks the high command to convince all national unions to go in for "political funding."

As an example, COPE cites Walter Reuther's auto union constitution which provides for a specific amount to be taken out of membership dues "as a Citizenship Fund to be used for the purpose of strengthening democracy by encouraging members and citizens generally to register and vote in community, state and national elections and to carry on organized educational programs."

If this can be done by thousands of unions, even if it means amending each constitution, COPE believes the high cost of space-age politics would not interfere with computerizing campaigns of the "future."

(Distributed 1965, by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

N.Y. Newspaper Strikers Are Modern-Day Luddites

From the Arizona *Republic*

In the late 1700s, a half-wit named Ned Ludd went around the English countryside breaking up stocking frames, which he claimed were causing unemployment in the stocking industry. Not long afterwards, in the early 19th Century, a band of workingmen earned for themselves the name Luddites as they too roamed the English countryside smashing labor-saving machinery, burning factories, and sabotaging all attempts at industrialization.

The Luddites have deservedly gone down in history as shortsighted crusaders who tried to thwart man's progress. Although mechanization and automation have come a long way since then, there is evidence that the Luddite mentality is with us still.

How else is it possible to account for the present newspaper strike in New York City—a strike which has idled 17,000 workers, imposed a readership blackout on millions of New Yorkers, and threatens to bring serious economic consequences to the city and to the nation?

A previous New York newspaper strike, which began Dec. 8, 1962, and lasted 114 days, cost the city's economy some $250 million. When it ended, the *Daily Mirror*, one of the largest newspapers in the land, was unable to resume publishing. Hundreds of *Mirror* workers were idled.

Wages are not an issue in the present strike. The union and publishers have agreed on the identical $12-a-week, two-year wage package offered by the publishers to nine craft unions last spring. What the New York Newspaper Guild insists upon is a veto over installation of any new automation equipment. . . a demand on which publishers foolishly yielded to the New York Typographical Union last spring. In addition, the guild is demanding a union shop at the New York *Times*, and the *Times* has balked at forcing editorial employes to join a union against their will.

The guild demand for a veto over installation of automated devices comes in the face of rising costs which have caused most New York newspapers to lose money. One or two are in such dire financial straits that, even should the strike end quickly, they may be forced to fold or merge. And it comes in the face of publisher guarantees that not one employe will be downgraded or thrown out of work as a result of automation.

But that is not enough for the union. It apparently would rather see men unemployed—as a result of a newspaper folding because (as recently happened in San Francisco, where 800 men were thrown out of work following a merger) it was not permitted to automate—than see publishers streamline their operations, thereby making it possible for them to continue operating.

It seems clear that some unions, the New York guild among them, are less interested in employment for workers than in consolidating their power in jurisdictional disputes—less interested in seeing that men are given the opportunity to earn an honest living than that the terms of employment be dictated by union leaders.

This shortsighted attitude differs not at all from the attitude of the Luddites.

□ □ □

DOUBLE THINK—The mail brings from Doubleday a new supplementary textbook, intended for junior and senior high school use, containing glowing biographies of four American Negroes. Among them is the late Dr. W.E.B. DuBois. Here we learn that "Just before leaving for Ghana [in 1961], Dr. DuBois applied for membership in the Communist party. Undoubtedly he saw his action as one more blow in his stubborn fight for American principles." That's double think writing for you, Doubleday!—From the Richmond *News Leader*

□ □ □

THE COST OF LIVING has reached an all-time record. The food price index is so high that Bobby Kennedy wants to climb it.

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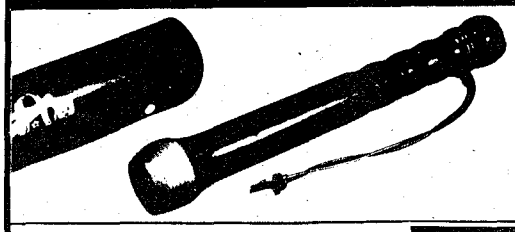

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Want Lion's Share of $1.78 Billion

Civil Rights Groups and Other Activists Plan to Become Channels for 'Poverty' Funds

From the Allen-Scott Report

Civil rights and other activists are busily getting ready to make the most for themselves of the new $1.78-billion anti-poverty program just authorized by Congress.

Envisioned in these unpublicized activist preparations is a wide range of "grass-roots" propaganda and politics-loaded activities—job training, vocational rehabilitation, employment counseling, job corps, welfare programs, consumer education, birth control, legal aid, neighborhood centers, domestic peace corps (VISTA).

While the $1.78-billion anti-poverty budget is tagged as the principal source of funds for these ambitious promotional plans, it's not the only one. Various other bountifully endowed "Great Society" programs also will be tapped.

Virtually all of them are made to order for this.

A graphic illustration is the Delta Opportunity Corp., an outgrowth of a $1.4-million "Head Start" project for pre-school Negro children in Mississippi. A private, non-profit organization with church and educational sponsorship, DOC contemplates seeking federal grants from the anti-poverty and other "Great Society" budgets.

For example: DOC, which has applied for a Mississippi state charter, proposes to ask for money to "bring running water and flush plumbing" to 10 delta counties. These funds would come from the $55-million matching grant program, under the Farmers Home Administration, to assist non-profit organizations to install water and sewer systems in areas of 5,500 or less.

Also on the Delta Corp.'s aspiring agenda is going after funds from the Regional Development Act, with $3.5 billion in federal grants and loans over five years to aid economically depressed rural sections.

In effect, DOC aims to make itself a kind of Tammany Hall doing favors (collecting and distributing federal grants) for its largely Negro constituents.

Masterminding the Delta Opportunity Corp. is the same group that conducted the $1.4-million child development (Head Start) project—irately assailed as a "staging ground" for freedom marches and other civil rights demonstrations.

Of 40 members of the Head Start staff, 32 came from outside Mississippi and had militant civil rights backgrounds, chiefly with such organizations as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO).

Project director was Dr. Tom Levin, New York City, who stated in biographical material he submitted to the anti-poverty headquarters in Washington that he had engaged in extensive civil rights activities. They included being founder and president of the Long Island University chapter of NAACP, and founder and coordinator of the Committee of Conscience.

Federal auditors digging into the finances of this project uncovered information that caused Head Start Deputy Program Director Jule Sugarman to say, "The report discloses matters which could have far-reaching financial and program implications to the detriment of the child development program and Project Head Start as a whole."

Although critical, that was putting it mildly. Behind Sugarman's restrained disapproval were a number of jarring disclosures. Following are some of them in the auditors' unpublished report:

• More than $700 a week disbursed as "petty cash with no restriction on the amount or purpose."

• $180,568 listed as the project's required matching share, but the government auditors could find "no evidence to support this."

• $106,000 spent for furniture and supplies, regarding which the auditors reported "the location of these assets is unknown."

James Farmer is executive secretary of activist CORE.

• $2,500 allocated as "retainer for legal fees"—presumably in anticipation of fines and bail costs incurred by project members. The project employed a Negro firm in Jackson, Miss. A woman member of the firm was also a member of the project and of the Delta Ministry Division of the National Council of Churches, a project sponsor.

• Of $1,129 listed as bail payments, the auditors found only two cases where such payments could be clearly identified for that. In five other cases, the amounts were designated as "salary advances" even though two of the jailed individuals were not on the project payroll.

• "Petty cash" expenditures included $50 for a party; $100 to reimburse money allegedly stolen from a project employe while in jail; unexplained automobile repair and gas bills.

Not reported in the auditors' findings, but in authenticated information in the hands of congressional investigators is the fact that two project members were among those arrested in the demonstration in Washington, in August, against President Johnson's policies in Viet Nam.

This Head Start project was launched with $4,000 put up by the Washington headquartered Citizens Crusade Against Poverty. The national committee of this non-government organization includes:

Dr. Martin Luther King; James Farmer, executive secretary of CORE; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of NAACP; and Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League.

A policy statement by the Citizens Crusade declares that while it will support the anti-poverty and other "Great Society" programs, "It will also develop and carry out its own programs and activities at the federal, state and local levels independent of the government programs."

(Distributed 1965, by the Hall Syndicate, Inc.)

The Fund for the Republic's Plan for a Socialist America

By ALICE WIDENER

Recently columnist Holmes Alexander severely criticized Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Paul C. Hoffman and Harry S. Ashmore for lending their names, as officers of the Fund for the Republic, Inc., to the pamphlet "How the U.S. Got Involved in Viet Nam" [see *Human Events*, September 25, page 13].

The pamphlet, which Mr. Alexander describes as "the most irresponsible screed I have read thus far on the American war effort in Viet Nam," was published this year by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif. Operation of the Center is now the sole activity subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. Holmes Alexander says the Fund pamphlet on Viet Nam "is much more hurtful to our American cause than if it bore the frank imprint of Peking or Moscow."

He is entirely correct, in my judgment, and I've read every word of the pamphlet. Now I wonder what he and the American public will say about the latest screed issued by the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Entitled "The Restoration of Politics," it is written by Harvey Wheeler, who has been a member of the Center staff since it was established in 1959.

On Sept. 15, 1965, the Columbus *Dispatch* carried over the Alexander column on the Fund's Viet Nam pamphlet the heading, "Evil Work—Good Men Lend Names to High-Brow Treachery." It taxes my imagination to try to think of an appropriate heading for my column about Mr. Wheeler's high-brow blueprint for a Socialist America.

On page 27 there is a diagram for "the constitution" of such a "republic." Mr. Wheeler was co-author with Eugene Burdick of the novel Fail-Safe. **But Wheeler's essay on our need for a Socialist America isn't fiction, it is presented in hard-nosed seriousness. "This is an essay about the legal, political and constitutional implications of planning in the United States," he writes. "Many people equate planning with socialism. I believe this is a sound impulse."**

In 31 pages of Aesopian and not-so-twisted language, the author goes on to discuss his thesis and comes to the conclusion. "The Constitution must be fundamentally altered. The power of the people to achieve the common good must be buttressed by adding a new branch to the Constitution. Two new judicial institutions must be added: a high administrative court and a tribune of planning. The Supreme Court, sitting at the apex, will then be free to concentrate on the emerging principles of constitutionalism appropriate to a planned society."

Mr. Wheeler's diagram is a plan for a Socialist America startlingly similar to that outlined in the book *Toward a Soviet America* by the late Communist leader William Foster. Mr. Wheeler's plan for the judicial branch of a new United States Socialist Government really is something to behold! It calls for a "Supreme Court (College of Decennial Review); Common Law, Administrative and Statutory Appeals Court with a Citizens' Prosecutor; Court of Planning (a) Advisory and Allocative Opinions and (b) Investigation."

Mr. Wheeler charges that the American Constitution as it stands today "defines the citizen and protects him, but it does not enable him." To show how far his Soviet-type suggestions go, he calls for a "TVA for the mass media, stimulating the spread of the conception of lifelong education essential to the exercise of the office of citizen." This is mere Aesopianism for Socialist government control over and censorship of our press, with "cultural planning" for each citizen from cradle to grave.

Mr. Wheeler doesn't advocate violent overthrow of our government; instead, he declares, "Only short evolutionary steps are required" for the Democratic party to win popular consent necessary to confer "legitimacy" on the American Socialist state. The present welfare state, he charges, has only a "refurbished facade"; its foundation still is "private property, market exchange economy."

These must go, Harvey Wheeler says; and evidently the Fund for the Republic is doing all it can to help him destroy our free American way of life. He admits that "Even those few Americans who calmly face the need to supersede the free enterprise system blanch at the thought of modifying the family system." Nevertheless, he wants to "reshape and prepare the new functions of the post-industrial family system."

In the 1950s, soon after the Fund for the Republic was established, it subsidized a TV program so that Cyrus S. Eaton could slander the FBI and Director J. Edgar Hoover. At that time, many patriotic Americans asked about the new tax-exempt organization, "Fund for *what* Republic?" Today, in Wheeler's pamphlet, all Americans have a clear answer in Funded print.

My colleague Holmes Alexander denounced Justice Douglas, Paul Hoffman and Harry S. Ashmore for lend-

(Continued on following page)

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Why Doesn't LBJ Start at Home?

Lady Bird Johnson has been going up and down the country decrying auto junkyards and unsightly billboards. In fact, she has persuaded her husband to get Congress to put off until next year a package of anti-crime bills so that nothing will hold up passage of her "beautification" measure.

But there is at least one billboard Lady Bird seems to have overlooked—the one shown in the photo above. Advertising the Johnson-owned KTBC radio and television stations, this sign is located on Route 290, west of Austin, right in the middle of an area the President has repeatedly praised for its scenic qualities.

The disclosure of this billboard has revived memories of a similar incident last year: While LBJ was calling for a "War on Poverty," it was discovered that tenants on his wife's Alabama farmlands were living in tumbledown shacks.

As the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee commented, "The Lyndon Johnsons seem to have trouble keeping their own back yards clean."

'Look' at Chrysler Planned

Prices Are Industry's Job

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Johnson Administration reportedly is taking a "careful look" at the price increases announced by the Chrysler Corp. for its 1966 cars.

But where was the Administration, and how carefully was it looking when the auto workers asked for and got wage increases far above LBJ's recommended "guideposts"?

Is the President going to try to take on the job of price regulator for the nation's business and industry? He certainly does not have this responsibility by law, nor is it desirable under our free enterprise system for him to do so.

The automobile industry is extremely competitive. The Chrysler Corp. certainly wouldn't raise prices unless it felt a strong pressure from increased costs.

After the first emotional response to the Chrysler announcement had subsided, Secretary of Commerce John T. Conner pointed out the Chrysler price increase was made to cover the cost of including previously optional safety equipment as standard in the 1966 models.

When General Motors announced price decreases the following day, critics of Chrysler promptly cheered GM. Gardner Ackley, the President's chief economic adviser, called it "encouraging" for the economy.

This sequence of events proves how unnecessary it is for the Administration to try to regulate prices. Price setting is the responsibility of competitive business and industry.

(Continued from page 12)

Fund for the Republic

ing "their good names to evil work." Now that the Fund's Center has published Harvey Wheeler's blueprint for a Socialist America, which is so much like Communist Foster's "Soviet America," it would seem patriotic Americans should denounce every single person on the Fund for the Republic for lending their names to it. The roster includes such well known names as Bruce Catton, Elmo Roper, A.A. Berle Jr., Henry R. Luce, Reinhold Niebuhr, Clark Kerr and George N. Shuster.

Years ago the Ford Foundation had the good sense to disown the Fund for the Republic. It is high time for the American public to do the same. Constantly, the Fund sends out appeals for contributions. In my opinion, the Fund for the Republic isn't worth a plugged nickel.

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Taxpayer Funds Used for Bail

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

An outraged congressman has learned that "anti-poverty" officials are using federal funds to bail out accused criminals from coast to coast.

Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) informs this office he will lodge a vigorous protest with poverty chief R. Sargent Shriver. "There is no legislative authorization for such a gross misuse of taxpayer dollars," he says.

A Shriver spokesman, Ernest Gross, admits that anti-poverty funds have been used "maybe a dozen times" to obtain the release from prison of Job Corps members arrested on a variety of charges.

The most recent such incident occurred September 13, when federal funds were used to release from jail a Job Corpsman arrested in a barroom attack on a police officer. The youth, Manuel Martinez, 18, was enrolled in a Kentucky Job Corps center. He was on leave to attend the funeral of his mother when Billings, Mont., police found him in a local saloon.

Police say Martinez whipped out a gun, when asked to leave, and fired at officer Robert Pace. The bullet missed, wounding an innocent bystander in the leg. Martinez was awaiting trial on first and second-degree assault charges when the Job Corps came to the rescue, posting his $2,500 bond.

Police Chief John Bevens was stunned, wondering why the same courtesy is not accorded to a member of the armed forces. "Nobody bails out a soldier who has been charged with fighting in a bar," the chief said.

County Attorney John Adams agreed, asserting the use of federal funds for Martinez' bond was a highly questionable precedent. "I recognize Washington is the Great White Father," Adams said, "but I didn't realize its responsibilities to its children went this far."

"It's an extension of a privilege which to my knowledge is not extended to any other group of people under the patronage of Washington," Adams said.

The Job Corps has retained a Billings lawyer, Arnold Berger, for Martinez' defense. Anti-poverty funds will be used for an appeal, if necessary, it is learned.

Note: When five Job Corps members were arrested in San Antonio, Tex., and charged with the stickup-shooting of two airmen, anti-poverty officials supplied each youngster with his own lawyer. The San Antonio prosecutor noted that a U.S. senator would be denied federal assistance if arrested on a similar charge.

* * *

When Simon Casady was elected president of the 70,000-member California Democratic Council earlier this year, he was described in news accounts as a key political ally of the President.

Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin, San Diego Democrat, praised Casady in a House speech, informing his colleagues that Casady is a "long-time friend of President Lyndon Johnson."

With friends like Casady, however, the chief executive needs no enemies. The CDC president has savagely denounced U.S. policy in South Viet Nam and cheered anti-war demonstrations by California leftists.

"It takes more courage to tear up a draft card than it does to fight a war in Viet Nam," Casady crowed recently, a statement that angered even the placid Edmund "Pat" Brown. Gov. Brown has denounced Casady's "irresponsible" attacks upon the President and demanded that he step down as CDC president.

Leaders of the powerful CDC have lined up with Casady, defending his right to "free speech." Their position is hardly surprising, for the CDC has for years echoed the most radical pronouncements of the far-out left. At the very convention at which Casady was elected president, CDC delegates went on record demanding:

- Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the State Senate Committee on Un-American Activities.
- Removal of all restrictions on travel abroad, specifically to Communist China, North Viet Nam, North Korea, Albania and Cuba.
- An end to U.S. air strikes in North Viet Nam, a cease fire, and a negotiated settlement in that conflict.

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ROBERT D. KEPHART, Business Manager

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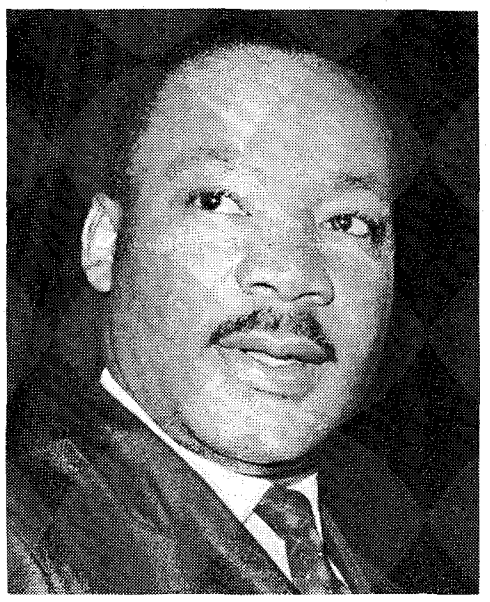
Labor Lawyer Says Luther King Makes Mockery of Non-Violence

By VICTOR LASKY

Louis Waldman, a leading labor attorney, has sharply criticized Dr. Martin Luther King for advocating civil disobedience as a means of combatting "unjust laws." He charged that the civil rights leader's so-called non-violent technique actually leads to violence by provoking violence.

"And the provocation of violence is violence," Waldman added. "To describe such provocations as 'non-violent' is to trifle with the plain meaning of words."

Waldman, long a supporter of civil rights for Negroes, voiced his views



Dr. King's views are sharply criticized in an article in the New York Bar Association Journal.

in an article published in the New York State Bar Association *Journal*. The article was in response to a speech before New York lawyers in which Dr. King had outlined his program for civil disobedience as a means of achieving not only civil rights but to remedy all injustices.

Dr. King was asked whether he thought "there is a right to disobey an unjust law" in those places "where the Negroes actually have the right to vote." This was his answer:

"There may be a community where Negroes have the right to vote, but there are still unjust laws in that community. There may be unjust laws in a community where people in large numbers are voting and I think wherever unjust laws exist people on the basis of consciences have a right to disobey those laws."

According to Louis Waldman: "If this philosophy were accepted and carried out by the 20 million American Negroes, it would be enough to disorganize our entire society and produce an intolerable chaos and a denial of individual liberty to every other American . . . . The consequences of Dr. King's program, if allowed to continue, would be disastrous to our nation."

Noting that organized labor had long opposed Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law, which, in effect, permits the separate states to have right-to-work laws, Waldman posed this question: "What if in the last 18 years, the labor movement had proceeded with a program of civil disobedience as outlined by Dr. King and had used its organizational power to stage marches, 'non-violent marches' of course, sit-ins, 'non-violent sit-ins,' of course, and other such activities—would not such actions tend to disorient our politically organized society?

"Let us suppose further that George Meany, his Executive Council, and the AFL-CIO unions did all of these things . . . with respect to other laws, city, state or federal, which they honestly and in good conscience believe to be unjust to labor. What would happen to our country, to our industries, to our commerce, to our trade and to our existence as a civilized community?

Waldman concluded:

"Whether Dr. King knows it or not, or wills it or not, the policy of perpetual crisis, or provoking 'tensions,' as he calls it, and of civil disobedience, are disastrous to the Negro people themselves, to civil liberties and to constitutional government. Such a policy flies in the teeth of the very purpose of our Constitution, which is clearly stated in the preamble to be, among other things, 'to insure domestic tranquility.'

"It is time that the organized bar is heard on this question. It is time that we tell Dr. King and his devotees that the rule of law will and must prevail, that violators of the law, however lofty their aims or position in society, are not above the law. Correction of injustices by intimidation, by extra-legal means, or inspired by fear of violence cannot longer be continued. And law enforcement authorities must make it clear that we are a constitutional government and the laws enacted pursuant to our Constitution must be obeyed whether the individuals or groups affected by those laws believe they are just or not."

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□ □ □

NO LIMITS—A liberal Republican, New York Rep. Paul Fino, has ripped the Johnson Administration for an accommodationist foreign policy. "Just a few weeks ago, the Johnson Administration surrendered to the Communists in the United Nations on the question of loss of voting power because of unpaid dues. Now the Administration wants to surrender on the terms of wheat sales to countries in the Soviet bloc. There seems to be no limit to the Administration's willingness to surrender on financial and other questions . . . ."

□ □ □

WAGNERIAN CODE—A noted West German musician was invited to Budapest. During his train ride, another man joined him in the compartment. The man kept looking askance at the artist who was studying a score. "What kind of a secret code have you there?" the man asked gruffly. "No code at all," was the reply. "This is by Wagner." The burly man, a secret agent, left the train and called Budapest. When the train reached the Hungarian capital, the musician was immediately arrested by the secret police. After two days in solitary, he was taken for interrogation. "You might as well admit you're a spy," said the interrogator. "Wagner has already confessed."

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"One of the most amazing things about this Administration is its ability to disassociate in the public mind taxes and spending."—Rep. Hastings Keith (R.-Mass.)

Strange Spending

By SEN. PETER DOMINICK (R.-Colo.)

Some interesting statistics came to light recently. Our federal government is subsidizing to the tune of $29,361 a program for development of an odor-measuring instrument in Turkey. $20,556 is being spent for the study of blood groups of the Zlotnicka pig in Poland; $131,000 for improving and evaluating the fayoumi and dandarawao fowls in Egypt; $31,000 for bio-chemical study of vinegar flies in Colombia; and $82,155 for investigation of the rhinoceros in India. I certainly hope Egyptian fayoumi fowl farmers are more receptive to our assistance than Nasser has been. This research may be very desirable but it seems strange to me that it is financed by general tax funds instead of corporate or foundation funds.

Credits for Training

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

We have joined with a number of members of Congress in sponsoring a bill which in substance gives an employer a 7 per cent tax credit toward certain training or retraining expenses for employes. Our purpose is to give private enterprise an incentive to train its workers in those skills where there is a need in our advanced industrial economy. A substantial amount of our unemployment is not because of too few jobs but because a large part of our manpower lacks training for the jobs available. Automation and rapidly advancing technology require training and retraining for competent workers to continue to be employable. We believe that the legitimate role of government is to help the people do what they can better do for themselves. It is for the government to provide the incentive. By the tax credit method the incentive can be supplied without the government collecting taxes and then using them on some federally financed program, with its high administrative costs and inevitable controls. The tax allowance procedure is used in connection with investments in plant and equipment. Why cannot the same procedure be adopted in connection with the men and women who work in the plants and use the equipment? Early in this session of Congress we introduced a bill to provide for a tax credit to help defray college education costs. In our judgment such procedure helping individuals to help themselves, is to be preferred to any vast program for federal scholarships.

Highly Polished Brass

By REP. RICHARD POFF (R.-Va.)

The top brass in the "War on Poverty" are extremely articulate, affable, persuasive people. Testifying before congressional committees in justification of a request for spending money nearly double last year's appropriation, they point with loving pride to accomplishments. There have been accomplishments. Some poor people have been helped. The Head Start program in most places has been moderately successful and promises to be even more so. However, it would indeed be an outrageous thing if no good at all were accomplished by the spending of more than a billion dollars. Some of the effects are bound to be beneficial, even if accidentally. But any fair-minded appraisal of the total poverty war picture is bound to conclude that most of the money is absorbed in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy and little trickles down to the people for whom the big shots have so many kind words of sympathy.

Bobby Baker Case

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

Long overdue is the word that North American Aviation, holder of Defense Department and space administration contracts totaling hundreds of millions of dollars, is canceling its multi-million-dollar vending machine contract with Bobby Baker, the high-flying former employe and intimate of President Johnson. Starting from scratch in 1961, Baker, while a $19,000-a-year employe of the Senate majority, and in less than two years, built a vending machine business grossing more than $3.5 million annually. Subsequently, when attempts were made to obtain from Baker the identity of his financial angels and other details of his manipulations, he took refuge behind the fifth amendment.

On February 13, this year, and again on July 2, I pointed out the impropriety of government agencies and departments dealing directly or indirectly with racketeers. On July 13, I said: "Such contractual relations would not be tolerated by the government if they involved such figures as Frank Costello, Tony Accardo and others of their racketeering ilk. The record shows that Bobby Baker is a political racketeer, and political racketeering should be given no preference."

Personal Responsibility

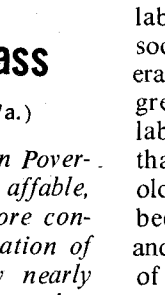
By REP. ANCHER NELSEN (R.-Minn.)

Unless the good people in both our great political parties buckle down to recapture that sense of personal responsibility and self-respect which has made our nation sound and morally responsible we have very little chance of permanent national survival no matter how many new laws we pass.

History's Lessons

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

One of the delusions under which the American people have been led to labor is that the so-called social reforms of this era are new and progressive. In spite of their labels, the fact remains that most of them are old and have long since been exploded as false and illusory. The lessons of history are clear and unmistakable on this point. Twenty-three hundred years ago the historian, Isocrates, wrote of the sad state of affairs in Greece, the first free nation: "Politicians have strained their ingenuity to discover new sources of public revenue. They have doubled the indirect taxes, they have broadened perilously the field of income and property taxes for public handouts among the voters." Edward Gibbon, in his monumental work, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* has this to say about the Greek civilization: "When the Athenians finally wanted, not to give to society, but for society to give to them; then the freedom they wished most for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free and was never free again." And speaking of both the Greeks and Romans, he said: "In the end, more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security; they wanted a comfortable life and they lost it all: security, comfort and freedom." Thus our paternalistic federal government is leading us down an ancient road, the end of which has always been not merely disappointing, but tragic.



Export Controls

By REP. JACK EDWARDS (R.-Ala.)

In 1949, Congress passed the Export Control Act. The intent of that act was to stop the export of any material or technical information which could help increase the military potential of any Communist nation. The logic behind the legislation was simply that it was foolish to deliberately give assistance to nations which might make war on us. But today, even though we are engaged in a deadly serious conflict in Asia, where Americans are being killed fighting the spread of communism, this Export Control Act might as well not be on the books at all. We are exporting both material and technical data to Communist countries and the amazing thing is that these exports are actually increasing.

More Wheat Deals

By REP. PAUL FINO (R.-N.Y.)

Recently, there has been talk of further American wheat sales to Russia. If this wasn't bad enough, there are also plans to scrap the present requirement that 50 per cent of such shipments of wheat to Russia be carried on American ships. (Of course, this is in order to aid our merchant marine.) I see no reason to give the Soviets our wheat to alleviate their grain shortage. I say this because a grain shortage in the Soviet bloc generally forces a cut-back in planned industrial building and development, thereby hindering the progress of heavy industry and war potential. Such a cut-back is to our advantage. As far as I am concerned, those who want to trade in wheat with the Soviets as a quick way to improve our balance of payments without selling strategic material are ignoring a very simple fact of life. American wheat, while not itself strategic, allows Communist planners to concern themselves with other cold war economic production because it frees them of their need to solve the Soviet agricultural problem. Unfortunately, this Administration is bending over backwards to make things nice for the Russians.

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A SPECIAL PRE-CHRISTMAS MESSAGE FROM HUMAN EVENTS . . .

ON THE DIFFICULTIES AND THE CHALLENGES OF BEING A CONSERVATIVE

A subscriber once wrote a letter to our founder, the late Frank Hanighen, in which he talked about how hard it was to be a conservative in today's world. He mentioned such things as the many appeals he constantly received from worthy causes he would have liked to support, but simply could not afford to . . . the strain of having always to defend his beliefs against a hostile liberal majority . . . and, worst of all, some of the disheartening political defeats suffered by conservatives.

After pouring out his (very understandable) feelings this way, he ended his letter by saying: "Funny thing, but you know, being a conservative is kind of like having children—the more heartache they give you, the more you want to help them. So keep up the good fight. We'll lick 'em yet!"

Well, thanks to that subscriber, and the tens of thousands of others like him, Human Events is still in there fighting. It hasn't been easy, of course, but then nothing worthwhile ever is. Sure, we've been knocked down—but never out. We conservatives are a stubborn lot, we have an annoying habit of bouncing back just when the liberals think they've nailed us for good.

Progress is being made, despite all the difficulties and all the funeral orations (mostly from liberal pulpits) over the death of conservatism. On the contrary, we are very much alive and kicking, thank you. As a matter of fact, conservatives are right now hard at work laying the groundwork for victory in the all-important 1966 Congressional elections. The prospects for electing conservatives look good. And we desperately need them—the present "rubber stamp" Congress is appalling and frightening. It must be moved to the right, and it is up to us to do it.

Human Events, being an all-news publication, is uniquely qualified to influence the outcome of next year's elections. How great our influence will be, of course, depends largely on you.

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